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ATTENTION

MANUFACTURING

TAXES AND REVENUE

GOVERNMENT

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A
J O U R N E Y

THROUGH

S P A I N

IN THE YEARS 1786 AND 1787;

WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION

TO THE

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
POPULATION, TAXES, AND REVENUE

O F T H A T C O U N T R Y;

AND

R E M A R K S

IN PASSING THROUGH

A P A R T O F F R A N C E.

BY JOSEPH TOWNSEND, A. M.

RECTOR OF PEWSEY, WILTS;

AND LATE OF CLARE-HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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SECOND VOLUME.
OF THE NEW

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Debts of Spain, and Obligations on Finance 188

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J O U R N E Y

THROUGH

T H E A S T U R I A S.

OVIEDO, the capital of the Asturias, stands near the conflux of two little rivers, which pour their water into the Bay of Biscay, at Villaviciosa. It was built by Froila, or Fruela, the son of Alfonso I. surnamed El Catolico, and made the seat of his dominion. This city contains one thousand five hundred and sixty families, and has five thousand eight hundred and ninety-five communicants, besides children under ten years of age, who are computed to be about one thousand six hundred; so that the whole population being seven thousand four hundred and ninety-five, they are not five to a family. It has four parish churches, eight chapels, six convents, and a sufficient number of priests, with a bishop, his auxiliary, and thirty-six canons. The

VOL. II.

B

bishopric

bishopric is worth sixty thousand ducats, and the chapter is reckoned eighty thousand; the former being equal to £.6,591. 15s. 11¼d. and the latter £.8,789. 1s. 3d. per annum.

The family where I took up my abode, was that of the auxiliary bishop. He is more than six feet two inches high, very stout, remarkably well made, handsome, youthful in his appearance, cheerful, active, and considerably more than threescore years of age. His manner is easy, and his conversation lively. The title given to him is, Most Illustrious; and upon the first approach to him, you bend the knee, and kiss his ring, having previously received his benediction, signified by crossing with his right hand.

His palace is far from elegant, yet by no means uncomfortable. You enter by the coach-house, and from thence pass through a door into the stable, or up the stair-case to the dwelling, which is over these. When ascended, you go through a kind of gallery, or lobby, to the bishop's apartments, consisting of a drawing-room of about thirty by eighteen, a little study, and a corresponding

sponding bed-room. The dining-room is about twenty-four by twenty-two, and not far from it is the little kitchen, with a few bed-rooms in the intermediate space. The whole has white walls, and ill-jointed floors. The chairs and the long table are of oak.

If the palace itself is plain; the stile of living is still more remarkable for its simplicity: enough for comfort, although little for luxury, and less for ostentation. Our dinner commonly consisted of a sopa, or bread stewed in broth, followed by an olla, composed of beef and mutton, a bit of bacon, and some sausages, with garvanzos, or large Spanish peas (*cicer arietinum*). At other tables they add veal and fowls. This was succeeded by some kind of roast meat, or game; and fish, in some shape or other, brought up the rear. Every morning and evening, instead of tea, chocolate, with Naples biscuits, was handed round.

The good bishop filled up his mornings with the duties and functions of his office; after dinner he took his siesta; then either rode or walked; and in the evenings conversed with his friends, who assembled round him. His family consisted of his

chaplain, his secretary, and two pages; besides these, his nephew, who is one of the canons, lived with him, and his great nephew, my travelling companion, was occasionally there. The pages wait at his table, and attend him when he goes from home. The remainder of their time is occupied with studies, and when qualified, they rise into the priesthood, and, admitted to the table, become companions, till a living offers to which the bishop can present them. The *padre cura*, that is, the rector of S. Andres de Aguera, had been one of these, and whilst I was at Oviedo, an amiable young page was ordained priest, said his first mass, and sat down with us at table.

Having been recommended by count Campomanes to the intendant, I sometimes, with the canon, frequented his *tertulla*, or evening assembly, where I never failed to meet the count de Peñalba, a friend of Campomanes. Here I found two apartments, one for cards, the other for conversation; both neat; the former spacious and well proportioned. The company assembled in the card room was numerous; their game was lottery, a game requiring neither
judg-

judgment nor memory; but the room for conversation was deserted. The count indeed was so polite as to quit the card-table; but as I felt that I had no right to expect such a sacrifice, I staid only a short time, and then either tormented the bishop, who was no Frenchman, with my miserable Spanish, or, when I thought that I had sufficiently trespassed on his goodness, I retired to my room.

A few days after my arrival, I was present at a grand procession of the bishop, with his canons, attended by the principal inhabitants, carrying torches, and preceded by the ashes of Santa Eululia, to implore rain from heaven. But this patroness of the diocese, deaf to their petitions, would not intercede for one refreshing shower, and in consequence the maize was scorched up, and produced but little grain. Being at the time in blossom, it required daily showers to prevent the blight.

From the frequency of processions, the consumption of wax becomes considerable in every part of Spain, more especially where the country is not watered, either by rivers or by the noria. But I am inclined

to think, that the same expence, if properly applied, would in most places secure a never failing supply of water, and pay good interest for the capital employed. Government is sensible of this, and with a view to watering, as well as to navigation, encourages the canals, not as with us, by leaving this most important work to private adventurers, but as a national concern, at the national expence.

After the procession, I went to visit the *Hospicio*, or general work-house, and found the numbers confined to be, men, sixty-five; boys, fifty-five; women, ninety; girls, seventy; not including infants out at nurse. The house is large and commodious, consisting of four spacious quadrangles, three stories high, and perfectly well fitted up, with comfortable work-rooms and dormitories. Some of these I found two hundred and fifty feet in length, lofty and wide. To support this establishment, the funds are thirty thousand ducats annually, arising from licences to sell brandy in the Asturias; three thousand from rents of land; and some other emoluments; being together equal to four thousand pounds sterling, besides the pro-

produce of their labour, which is stated at three thousand reales, or thirty pounds per annum, including what they make for their own consumption. Among the two hundred and eighty persons shut up in this hospicio, I saw no cripples, so that their labour may be fairly reckoned at two shillings and three halfpence each per annum. The expence of every pauper to the public is not so easily calculated, because they receive all deserted children. Here the mother has nothing to do but to put the child into the cradle, ring the bell, and then retire.

Besides this refuge for the poor, and for their children, the bishop causes seventy reales to be distributed every morning at his gates, giving either a quarto or an ochavo to all who come, and weekly pensions both to widows and to orphans. In addition to all this, the canons scatter their alms plentifully as they walk the streets; and the six convents administer bread and broth at noon, more especially the Benedictines, who, as the most wealthy, are most liberal in their donations. When sick, the poor have a commodious hospital always ready to receive them.

Notwithstanding all that has been done, and what more, in the way of charity, can be devised? beggars, clothed in rags, and covered with vermin, swarm in every street. Is it not therefore evident, that they have done too much, increasing both the numbers and the distresses of the poor by the very means, which have been employed to relieve their wants.

What incitement can we here find to industry? for, who will dig a well when he may draw water from the fountain? Is he hungry? the monasteries will feed him. Is he sick? an hospital stands open to receive him. Has he children? he need not labour to support them; they are well provided for without his care. Is he too lazy to go in search of food? he need only retire to the hospicio.

Dry up the fountain, and every man will instantly begin to dig a well; burn the hospicio, or dissipate its funds; give no relief but as a reward, that it may prove a stimulus to industry, and although at first the distress will be increased, and the population will be diminished, yet, as the fruit of that industry, which can spring only from

from distress, the population will afterwards advance in a constant and regular progression; wealth will be diffused; and distress will be confined to the cottage of the slothful.

I was exceedingly pleased with the answer of the bishop, when I one day took the liberty to ask him, if he did not think he was doing harm by the distribution of alms. "Most undoubtedly," said he; "but then it is the part of the magistrate to clear the streets of beggars; it is my duty to give alms to all that ask."

Among the widows pensioned by the bishop, were many who had lived in affluence whilst they had husbands. These were the widows of lawyers, who are numerous, and spend all their gains.

I went afterwards with don Antonio Durand, and don Francisco Roca, to visit the hospital, of which the former is physician, the latter surgeon. The most remarkable cases were, tertians, dropfies, and a disease peculiar to this province, called *Mal de la Rosa*.

The tertians were only remarkable, as yielding to the lancet, followed by emetics, cathartics,

cathartics, and the bark. Perhaps the latter were the really efficacious remedies, and all the merit of the former might be merely negative. The dropfies were soon cured by cathartics, and abstinence from drink, allowing no liquid but half a pint of wine in twenty-four hours.

The *Mal de Rosa* has been considered as a species of the leprosy; but to me it appears to have no affinity with that disease. It attacks the back of the hands, the insteps, and the neck, where it descends the sternum, almost to the cartilago ziphoides, but the rest of the body is free. At first it appears red, accompanied with pain and heat, but ends in scurf. In the progress of this disease, vertigo and delirium succeed, with foul tongue, lassitude, chilliness, tears, and, according to the testimony of Dr. Durand, a peculiar propensity to drown themselves. It goes away in summer, and returns in spring. The disease may be cured by nitre and gentle cathartics; but, if neglected, it terminates in scrophula, marasma, melancholy, and madness.

At Oviedo, as in most of the great towns in Spain, an hospital for the lues is opened

three times in the year, to receive as many as the hospital will hold; but the surgeons all over the peninsula complain that patients are tardy in their application. This may arise either from the violence of their treatment, or from the mildness of the symptoms; but whatever cause may be assigned, the consequence is, the universal prevalence of that complaint.

The diseases which seem to be endemical in the Asturias, are, intermittents, dropsies, hysteria, hypochondriasis, scrophula, bronchocele, glandular obstructions, cachexies, scurvy, leprosy, madness, epilepsy, attended with worms, apoplexy, and palsy, rheumatism, phthisis, and erisipelas, with the mal de rosa, and the sarna, or the itch.

For the leprosy they have in the Asturias twenty hospitals, called *Lazaros*. It appears in various forms. Some patients are covered over with a white dry scurf, and look like millers; in others the skin is almost black, very thick, full of wrinkles, unctuous, and covered with a loathsome crust; others have one leg and thigh enormously swelled, and full of varices, pustules, and

and ulcers, sending forth a most abominable smell. All complain of heat, with most intolerable itching. Some patients, instead of the great leg, have a most enormous swelling of one hand, more especially the female subjects, or else have the features of the face swoln to such a degree, as hardly to retain the human form; others again have carbuncles, big as hazle nuts, all over the surface of their body.

The common itch (scabies) is little less disgusting than the leprosy, thus transiently described. It usually attacks the heads of children, and is attended with ulcers of the foulest nature, itching intolerable, and lice innumerable. It is commonly preceded by horripilation and a febricula, which terminate in the expulsion of numerous little pimples like the small pox. These, in healthy subjects, are large, pointed, red, quickly suppurating; but at the end of nine or ten months they go away. Bad subjects have this disease for life. The females are more exposed to it than males.

Agues, fevers, and even pleurifies, are said often to terminate in scabies, and this frequently gives place to them, returning however

however when the fever ceases. In adults it takes possession of the hands and arms, with the legs and thighs; covering them with a filthy crust. In wet weather the itching becomes more troublesome, and towards midnight is insupportable. The patients, who labour under this disease, breed scrores, a kind of vermin exceedingly minute, yet visible without the assistance of a lens, which form channels between the cuticle and the skin.

The predisposing cause of all these diseases may be sought for in humidity, arising from the peculiar situation of this province. This hilly country, bounded on the north by the Bay of Biscay, and to the south by snowy mountains, is always temperate, and generally moist. The N. E. wind indeed is dry, attended with a bright sky, and with a bracing air, but with every other wind the sun is obscured by clouds. The north wind always produces the most dreadful tempests, and the N. W. is little better; both bring rain in summer, and the west wind comes loaded at all times with moisture from the Atlantic Ocean. In May, June, and July, they seldom see the sun; but

but then, to balance this, in August and September they as seldom see a cloud. The coast is temperate, and comparatively free from rain; but such is the moisture of the hills, that no care is sufficient to preserve their fruits, their grain, their instruments of iron, from mould, from rot, from rust. Both the acetous and the putrid fermentation here make a rapid progress.

Besides the relaxing humidity of the climate, the common food of the inhabitants contributes much to the prevalence of most diseases, which infest this principality. They eat little flesh; they drink little wine. Their usual diet is Indian corn, with beans, peas, chesnuts, apples, pears, melons, and cucumbers; and even their bread, made of Indian corn, has neither barm nor leaven, but is unfermented, and in the state of dough. Their drink is water.

This account, collected from gentlemen of the profession, is confirmed in the valuable work of don Gaspar Cassal, an old physician, of more than common observation and experience, who has given to the public a natural history of the Asturias.

Although

Although subject to such a variety of *en-*
demical diseases, few countries can produce
 more examples of longevity. Many live to
 the age of a hundred, some to a hundred
 and ten, and others much longer. The
 same observation may be extended to Gal-
 licia, where, in the parish of S. Juan de
 Poyo, A. D. 1724, the curate administered
 the sacrament to thirteen persons, whose
 ages together made one thousand four hun-
 dred and ninety-nine, the youngest of these
 being one hundred and ten, and the oldest
 one hundred and twenty-seven. But in
 Villa de Fofiñanes, one Juan de Outeyro, a
 poor labourer, died in the year 1726, aged
 more than one hundred and forty-six
 years.

When we consider the temperature of the
 climate, arising from its humidity, together
 with the cooling winds from the Atlantic,
 and from the snowy mountains, we must na-
 turally expect to find instances of protracted
 age, with the prevalence of chronical com-
 plaints, and of such maladies as are seldom
 mortal: whereas in warmer and in drier
 climates, nature comes sooner to maturity,

is

is subject to more acute *diseases*, and, like combustibles, when burning with a vivid flame, is rapidly consumed.

The physician reported a case too singular to be easily forgotten: a young man, aged twenty-eight, complaining of a fever, was bled twice without relief; and having some symptoms which indicated a different treatment, they gave him a bitter purge, which brought from him, in one day, one hundred and seventy-three large worms, (the *teretes*). Five days after this he passed one hundred twenty-four, and the next day seventy-three, and died.

From the general hospital, I went with don Nicolas Trelles to visit an hospital for pilgrims, of which he is chaplain and confessor. It is a miserable building, with a wretched hall, and numerous cells, by way of bed-rooms. Here pilgrims from every quarter of the globe, who are going to prostrate themselves before the altar of S. Jago, in Galicia, are received and lodged for three nights. When they arrive in Oviedo, they present themselves before one particular altar, and receive every man ten *quartos*.

quartos. Should he chance to die here, he is buried with more pomp, than the first nobleman of the province, and is attended by all the canons to the grave.

The rage for pilgrimage is much abated; but there are people living, who remember when it was the fashion for all young men of spirit, both in Italy and France, before they married, to go as pilgrims to S. Jago; and even now it is not uncommon to see straggling some few old men, and many companies of young ones, pursuing the same route. We met twelve fine made fellows, who came from Navarre, singing the rosary, and hastening towards the next convent, where they expected to lodge, and receive more money for the journey.

S. Jago, if I am not mistaken, was the first who preached the gospel to the Spaniards; but however this may be, their devotion springs from gratitude; and the reverence of all surrounding nations, who are acquainted with his military fame, is the just reward of his undaunted prowess, when, mounted on a white horse, he appeared in the air fighting against the infidels, and putting them to flight before

Ramiro, at the battle of Simancas. (A. D. 927.)

The sight of pilgrims naturally reminded me of relics, and excited a curiosity to visit those of the cathedral; and for that purpose I made application to the bishop, who the next morning sent his nephew, the canon, to shew me every thing most curious among their treasures. Tradition says, but I do not undertake to vindicate the truth of its report, nor indeed would our good bishop; tradition says, and our good bishop, with becoming modesty, considers it as possible, that when Cosroes, king of Persia, pillaged Jerusalem, God, by his omnipotence, transported a chest of incorruptible wood, made by the immediate followers of the apostles, and filled with relics, from Jerusalem, by way of Africa, to Carthagená, Seville, and Toledo, and from thence, with the infant don Pelayo, to the sacred mountain near to Oviedo, and finally to the cathedral church of San Salvador. Upon its being opened, by the command of the sovereign Alonzo the Great, in the presence of assembled prelates, they found portions of all the following articles: the Rod of Moses; the

2

Manna

Manna which fell from heaven; the Mantle of Elias; the Bones of the Holy Innocents; the Branch of Olive which Christ bore in his hand when he entered Jerusalem; great part of the true Cross; eight Thorns of his Crown; the Sanctissimo Sudario, or napkin stained with his blood; the Reed, which he bore by way of sceptre; his Garment; his Sepulchre; the Milk of the Blessed Virgin; the Hood, which she gave to S. Ildefonso archbishop of Toledo; one of the three Crucifixes carved by Nicodemus; and a Cross of the purest gold, made by angels in the cathedral.

“ Whosoever, called of God, shall visit
 “ these precious relics, shall obtain remis-
 “ sion of one-third of the punishment due
 “ to his sins, with indulgence for a thou-
 “ sand and four years, and six quarentines,
 “ &c. &c.” Thus at least runs the pro-
 mise, in the name of the pope, and by au-
 thority of the bishop; yet I doubt much,
 if thus worded, the promise be agreeable to
 the faith of catholics. All their bishops
 and men of learning, with whom I have
 C 2 had

had the honour to converse, have solemnly assured me, that without repentance, and a firm belief in the atonement, no power upon earth can absolve the guilty; and that the church claims no prerogative respecting indulgences, but that of remitting the punishment, which would otherwise be endured in purgatory by those, who shall not have performed the penance appointed by the church for each particular offence. When they promise forty days indulgence, or as many forty days as shall make one thousand and four years, they do not mean absolutely days and years, as if endless duration could be divided into portions, to be measured by the rotation of the earth, for they hold succession to be inconsistent with the idea of eternity; but they mean, if I understand them right, the remission of such a portion or quantity of punishment as shall be equal to forty days, or one thousand and four years penance, should their lives be protracted to such a period as would allow them to perform the whole. When the points of difference between protestants and papists shall be fairly and distinctly stated,

the

the subjects of dispute will vanish, or at least the contending parties will have the better chance of coming to agreement.

Some days after I had examined all these relics; the *Sanctissimo Sudario*, or sacred napkin, on which the Redeemer, during his passion, impressed his image, was exposed in the cathedral to eight or ten thousand peasants, collected from all the surrounding villages, most of whom had baskets full of cakes and bread, which they elevated as high as possible the instant the curtain was withdrawn, in the full persuasion that these cakes, thus exposed, would acquire virtue to cure or to alleviate all diseases. Many lifted up their beads, and every one had something or other to receive the divine energy, which he conceived to be constantly proceeding from the sacred image of his Lord. After a few minutes, one of the canons drew the curtain, and the multitude retired.

The monasteries in Oviedo are not highly interesting; yet two of them excited my curiosity; both of them belonging to the Benedictine order. The first was of monks, whom I visited for the sake of father Feyjoo,

whose fame has extended to the most distant nations. I went into his cell, and conversed with those, who had revered him living. I examined the features of his bust, but this having been taken when the clay was no longer animated, it was from his works alone that I could form any judgment of his mind. All who are conversant with these, will agree with me in thinking him, for general literature, the first writer of the Spanish nation.

The convent of the Benedictine nuns I visited chiefly on account of their great wealth. They are only fifty, and their revenue is allowed to be twenty thousand ducats, or £.2,197 5s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a year. They invited us to tea. I went with the canon and my young friend to their parlour; and they assembled with the lady abbess at the grate. Their conversation was lively, and their behaviour perfectly easy. I ventured to solicit one of them to sing; she was young and handsome, genteel and delicate, and her countenance was highly interesting; but when she began to chaunt a portion of the litany, she made me start; for having long since forgotten all the songs of
infancy,

infancy, and being accustomed to sing only in the choir, her voice was become harsh and grating on the ear. When we took our leave, they invited us to repeat our visit; but my curiosity was satisfied, and my time was short.

The building itself is worthy of attention for its vast extent, and for its elegance.

The person to whom I was chiefly recommended was the count of Peñalba, a man of good abilities, of gentle manners, and of uncommon information, for a nobleman of Spain.

I went with him to see the hot springs of *Rivera de Abajo*, at the distance of some miles from Oviedo. The situation is most enchanting, in a little valley every where shut in by lofty mountains, excepting only a small outlet for the stream. The rock is limestone, and the waters resemble those of Bath, both in temperature and in taste. The principal spring rises from the rock, and is near two inches in diameter. The baths are ill contrived, and separated by a cold passage from the dressing rooms.

The virtues of these waters have not been ascertained, nor have they been analysed;

but the cases, in which they have been chiefly recommended, are, rheumatism, palsy, jaundice, and sterility; and for these they are in the highest estimation.

In the centre of the valley, on a little eminence, is a castle with round towers, called *San Juan de Priorio*; and near to it a church, most romantically placed, with a beautiful back ground of oaks and chestnuts.

As we returned, we visited a new manufacture of petroleum, established near the city, according to a plan sent from Paris by count d'Aranda, and which I understand to be the same with that invented by lord Dundonald. This will certainly become an object of importance, because coal every where abounds in the Asturias, although it has never yet been turned to profit, on account of its abominable smell, arising perhaps from the rock, between which it lies, and the sulphur, with which it is impregnated. It is well known, that alkali and sulphur form the liver of sulphur, than which nothing is more offensive to the nostrils. Now the whole province abounds with marle, chalk, gypsum, pisolite or calcareous

careous freestone, limestone, marble ; and the rock, which confines the coal, is wholly calcareous. But should they ever penetrate this stratum, and find the coal in schist, I have no doubt that their coal would cease to be offensive. At present they have not sufficient encouragement to work these mines, because the country abounds with wood, and the prejudice against coal is so strong, that men, to whom the multitude look up, have not scrupled to attribute all the consumptive diseases of our island to the prevailing use of coal.

The limestone of this province every where abounds with fossil shells.

To the west of Oviedo the soil is gypseous, but they make no saltpetre, nor is there any sign of nitrous earth.

The trees are, elm, ash, poplars, and a species of the oak, called robles, an appellation perhaps derived from *robur*. In the low lands they get two crops in the year, taking after barley either maize or flax. Their wheat is very fine.

The ploughs about Oviedo are, without exception, the worst I ever saw, and perhaps the worst which the imagination can conceive.

conceive. The coulter is fixed in a beam by itself, with two oxen and one man to work it. This goes first; then follows the plough in the same tract, with no iron excepting at the point of the share. The handle is curved, to serve the purpose of sheets, and has a mortice to receive the tenon of the beam, and itself is morticed into the tail of the share. It has a retch to raise and to depress it. The whole is made in the most clumsy manner, and at best can only scratch the ground, which, being mostly strong land, requires to be well ploughed.

The harrows have no iron, and are only used for maize; the wheat and barley being always left unharrowed.

The cart wheel has no spokes, but consists of a wooden ring or felloe, composed of four quadrants, and is bisected by a plank of about eight or ten inches wide, to receive the axis, which, being fastened to the wheel, turns round with it, making what is called an axis in peritrocheo. Some of these, for heavy work, are bound with iron, and have spike nails with enormous heads. I had the curiosity to measure the axis, and found

found it commonly more than eight inches diameter, but sometimes ten ; yet, I must confess, that I was not surpris'd at finding this quantity of friction overlooked in the Asturias, having observed so little attention paid to it even in England, where, till within these few years, the large wooden axis was universal ; and where, even in the present day, few farmers have adopted iron.

To set any matter in a proper light, it is often necessary to view it in the two opposite extremes. Now it must be evident, that were it possible to have the axis, of the same diameter with the circumference of the wheel ; the friction would not be in the least abated, but would, as may be proved, and has been proved by the most accurate experiments, be equal to one-third of the whole weight moving on a smooth surface. Were it possible to reduce the axis to a mathematical line, friction would altogether vanish. Having found the two extremes, the imagination readily seizes a general idea of the proportions which lie between them. Let us however examine these proportions with a more minute

minute attention. It is evident, that in the former case, always supposing the plain to be horizontal, a power more than equal to one ton would be necessary to move three tons; whereas in the latter case, a fly would give motion to ten thousand tons.

Stating the diameter of the wheels to be four feet, and that of the axis to be eight inches, which are the usual dimensions in the Asturias, something more than one ton would move eighteen tons; but, supposing the wheels to be five feet high, and the diameter of the axis to be two inches and an half, then something more than one ton would set in motion seventy-two tons, the friction being always directly as the diameter of the axis, and inversely as the diameter of the wheel. Here I must take occasion to observe, that in point of friction, to diminish the axis will be found more adviseable than to increase the diameter of the wheel, because the friction will be in proportion to the diameter; whereas, the degree of strength being given, the weight of the wheel will be nearly as the square of the diameter. Whilst the motion is horizontal on a plain, which is perfectly

perfectly hard; wheels which are high, and consequently heavy, will have no other disadvantage than the superior cost, but on soft roads, and in moving either up hill or down, the weight of the wheels must not be overlooked, nor must the diameter be disregarded. The weight in both cases tells against the horse; but, as to the diameter, a distinction must be made. Going up hill, in proportion as you elevate the axis above the horse's breast, so as for the line of draft to make an angle with the hill, in the same proportion you lose power. The truth of this proposition may be caught by moving in imagination the line of draft up and down in two opposite extremes. Elevate or depress it, till it becomes perpendicular; the whole force of the horse will tell for nothing, and he will act only like a log of wood equal to him in weight. Let the line of draft make an angle of 45° with the plain, on which the waggon is ascending, and one half of the force will be lost. In like manner by the composition and resolution of forces, the exact proportion of loss may be ascertained. In going down hill, the diminution of friction, which is directly
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as the diameter of the wheels, makes it needful to create new friction by chaining the wheels, or by a sliding piece to prevent their rotation.

In the Asturias, not satisfied with the quantity of friction arising from a wooden axis of eight inches diameter revolving without grease, they fix two wooden pins, which confine the axis in its place, so near together, that they bind hard against it; and this they do only for the sake of the noise arising from the friction, and which, whilst it appears to lull the oxen, and to incline both them and the driver to sleep, as they move slowly on, is considered as exciting them to labour, and thereby precluding the necessity of either speaking to them or pricking them with goads. This music, resembling the sound of a post-boy's horn, is heard from morning to night in every part of the Asturias, and, when at a great distance, is not unpleasant even to a stranger, but to the native peasant it appears to be the never-failing source of calm enjoyment.

In this country oxen supply the place of horses,

horses, and consequently beef is cheap, being sold for ten quarts the pound of twenty-four ounces, which is $1\frac{7}{8}$ penny for a pound of sixteen ounces; mutton is fourteen quarts for the Asturian pound, or $2\frac{5}{8}$ penny for sixteen ounces, including the alcavala, millones, and arbitrio. The bishop tells me, that within his memory provisions were exactly half the present prices. Barley is twenty reales; maize or Indian corn, thirty; French beans, forty; wheat, from forty to fifty the fanega, which in the Asturias differs little, as I apprehend, from one English bushel and an half; wheat therefore is from 5s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. a bushel, or about 6s. on the average.

Monday, *August* 21, I went with my young friend to pay a visit for a few days to his father at *Aviles*, on the sea coast, about five leagues from Oviedo.

The occasion of this visit was to be present at the feria, or church feast, which in catholic countries all over the world, and even among protestants in a degree, gives occasion to much traffic, and is considered as a licentious season.

The road was over the mountains. This
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they are making at a vast expence, and in a most substantial manner, without the least attention to economy, or to any thing but their own ideas of utility and beauty. For some miles near to Oviedo, and likewise near to Aviles, the road is made perfectly straight, very wide, and rounded in the middle. The foundation is laid with large masses of limestone rock, covered with stones broken to a smaller size; and, to support the arch, which they apprehend would spread like the arches of an edifice, supposing them to have no lateral support, they absolutely build two walls the whole extent of way. This certainly contributes much to beauty, but not in the least to the principal purpose for which it is designed. The sides of the road being planted with trees, makes it a delightful walk for the inhabitants.

The ambition of Spaniards, in aiming at perfection, is no where more visible than near *Aviles*. The ancient road turned about two hundred yards, in order to avoid a low and swampy meadow; but now, at a vast expence, they are determined to have a straight and spacious avenue of near three miles,

miles, like those of other cities. From Oviedo to Gijon, a little sea-port to the east of Aviles, they are making another road in the same style, and at similar expence.

Aviles contains eight hundred families, with two parish churches, three convents, and two hospitals, of which one is for old women, the other for pilgrims going to San Jago. They have no manufactures, except of copper and brass pans for the surrounding villages, and of some thread for their own consumption.

Aviles is situated on the bank of a little river, about one league from the sea, but within reach of the tide. It is every where surrounded by hills, which, for the most part, are fertile to their summits, and are either covered with flocks or shaded by the roble and the chesnut; whilst the low lands are loaded with luxuriant crops of wheat and maize.

The house of my young friend is one of the most commodious I have seen. After the fashion of the country, it is built round a court, but with only half the usual corridor; for commonly this runs all round the

court, like that still seen in some of our great old inns. In this house the gallery is wide, and open to the south, and to the morning sun. The ground floor is given up wholly to the servants, except one corner occupied by a chapel. The apartments are, a dining-room, a drawing-room; both spacious and lofty; one to the west, looking to the street, the other to the east, commanding a lovely prospect, which is bounded by the sea; four principal bed-chambers, and others inferior. Of these, two only were single bedded; the rest contained, two, three, or upon occasion, four beds; for in Spain, even in respectable families, three or four gentlemen will occasionally occupy one room.

Custom reconciles to this; and, by the practice of Scotland, France, and Spain, I see clearly that other nations can be reconciled to that which is most disgusting to an Englishman; and certain it is, by what we see daily in our cottages of the poor peasants, that our olfactory nerves may be reduced to such a degree of torpid insensibility, as to be happy and contented in the midst of filth and nastiness.

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In this respect, no nation can surpass the Spaniards; who, without disgust, without regard to decency, when lodging thus together in one room, conceal only by a napkin that, which the French shut up in boxes, and hide in the little closet, where they keep their clothes.

Upon occasion of the church feast or feria, which, by the by, marks the origin of our word *Fair*, the concourse of strangers to Aviles is considerable, and every gentleman opens his house for the reception of his friends. At this season the morning is spent in lounging about to view the shops, the cattle, and the people assembled in the fair; and the evening is closed by dancing. The balls are given by the principal person in the city, and such is the simplicity, which reigns in this distant province, that the servants and peasants are allowed to crowd about the entrance of the room to see the dance. The most favourite dances are the English, the minuet and the country dance; but sometimes they dance the cotillion, and, towards the close of the evening, the fandango.

Sunday, August 27, being the fourth day

of the fair, and remarkably fine, the concourse of people, with the multitude of cattle, was surprising, and the market was brisk. As protestants, we must be allowed to wonder at this practice.

Beef here is sold for seven quarts and an half the pound of twenty-four ounces, and mutton eleven; bread, five quarts for the pound of twenty ounces; wheat, thirty-two reales the fanega, which weighs a quintal, and which, if supposed equal to the quintal of Catalonia, will be ninety-two pounds English; barley and maize, twenty-eight reales; beans, thirty-six.

It is striking to observe how corn finds its level all over Europe, whilst butchers meat, which is not of such easy transport, varies exceedingly in price. Thus, at Aviles, beef is under three halfpence; mutton is $2\frac{1}{6}$ pence for a pound of sixteen ounces, whilst bread is $1\frac{1}{8}$ penny for the same weight.

No distinction in price is made between the prime pieces and the coarse, nor between fat meat and lean, because the prices are fixed by the magistrate, without respect to quality. The consequence of this arrangement

rangement is, that the meat is never so good as it might be, were the market free.

The government of this city is in two corregidors, four regidors, and a syndic, who is annually chosen by the people to inspect the meat, to vindicate their rights, and take care upon all occasions, that justice shall be done to them.

Whilst I continued at Aviles, I discovered, for the first time, that the visit is always to the lady; that the master of the family is perfectly at liberty to come or go; that there is no necessity to take notice of him; and that, if the daughter is handsomer than her mother, she may, without offence, occupy the whole attention. This idea I found afterwards confirmed in the great metropolis, by seeing gentlemen introduced to ladies of the first fashion, and visiting them on the most familiar footing, without the least acquaintance, or even personal knowledge, of their husbands.

The science and practice of medicine are at the lowest ebb in Spain, but more especially in the Asturias. *Fiat venesectio* is still the favourite prescription, notwithstanding

the ridicule of Le Sage, and the serious reasoning of Feyjoo. When the fond husband meets the physician in the street, and urges him to step in to see his wife, *Sangrado* pulls out at once his list of patients and his watch, tells him that he can not stop one moment, orders him instantly to fetch the surgeon, and to have her blooded, promising faithfully to see her in the space of half an hour. Palsies most undoubtedly are frequent, but it is by no means clear, that these are always caused by plethora, although in many cases they certainly originate from fulness. *Sangrado* however has such a dread of palsy, that he bleeds his patient into a dropsy, or leaves him to languish between life and death, a prey to the most gloomy of all diseases, to which humanity is subject.

At the request of the bishop, I visited a friend of his, an old canon, who was threatened with a palsy by his physicians. He had been twice blooded, and the question was, whether he should lose more blood. I went to him immediately, and found him surrounded by his friends, who all stood looking on, expecting every moment to see the fatal stroke, whilst he, sitting in his
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great arm chair, apparently in perfect health, yet with a gloomy and dejected countenance, seemed to be waiting for the awful moment, without one ray of hope to cheer his mind. Those of his friends, who could be spared from business, continued with him; his neighbours dropped in to look upon him; but all continued silent, excepting such of them as thought it needful to ask him from time to time how he felt. No one entered into conversation with him, nor would they suffer him to look into a book. Notwithstanding this repeated venesection, his pulse was remarkably full and strong. He was of a certain age, lived well, and took no exercise. I could not hesitate what advice to give. At my request the room was cleared; he adopted the vegetable diet, and took exercise. Thus by degrees his fears were dissipated, and he returned once more to join the little circle of his friends in their innocent amusements.

At the desire of my friend at Aviles, I went to visit a monk, who was related to the family, and found the good old man crying with agony of pain, arising from the stone. The physician ordered nothing but

Madame Stevens Solvent; but this was too slow in its operation, and could give no present ease from pain. I ordered the *Enema Moliens*, by way of warm fomentation, to be used immediately, and to be repeated, if occasion should require; but the first application gave relief, and all the monks crowded round me to consult, each for himself, what would be proper for his complaint. Among all those, who came to me, I did not find one, who was not afflicted either with the stone, the gravel, or with the hypochondriacal disease. For this I could assign no other cause, but their inactive life, and the want of animating hope; both common to the cloistered tribe.

From the monks I was sent for to a convent of nuns, where I was confirmed in my idea, that man is formed not only for social life, for that is found in convents, but for domestic cares. Without a pursuit the mind must languish, and the health will suffer. The two nuns, whose friends had requested my advice, were hectic, and I am satisfied that others, who consulted me, were running the same course. Nature certainly never intended them for nuns. Other considera-

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tions apart; the severity of their discipline, their rising at midnight from a warm bed to go into a cold chapel, is ill suited to the delicacy of the female sex, and must be inevitable ruin to the tender constitution.

I was much pleased with the good sense, and flattered by the confidence of the lady abbess. When she was describing a diseased breast, and I had said, "If this young lady were my sister, I should desire to see the breast;" she answered, "Every lady is sister to the physician who attends her;" and immediately desired the nun to go with me to a parlour. On examination I found it was a cancerous case, and recommended them to make application to a surgeon.

After having passed ten days very pleasantly at Aviles, I went with the count Peñalba to stay as many at *Luanjo*, or, as we should pronounce it, Luanco.

Luanjo has three hundred and seventy houses, and one thousand eight hundred souls, of which one thousand three hundred go to confession and communion, the other five hundred are infants. It is a little sea port, and carries on a coasting trade.

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The ride from Aviles to Luanjo is chiefly on the sea coast. When we arrived, the sun was set, and the evening was shut in.

The habitation of the count is massive, chiefly calculated for strength, and to resist the waves, which always wash its solid base, and occasionally breaking against the house, send their foaming spray over the lofty roof into the street. Whilst I was there I was so fortunate as to be witness to this sight. To enter the dwelling, you pass through the coach-house, and find the ground floor given up to stables.

When we arrived, the great hall was already occupied, as usual, by the neighbours, who were amusing themselves with cards; but, as we were under no obligation to join the party, which was not of the genteelest cast, we went up stairs, and took possession of a room which occasionally serves for eating.

The family consisted of the count and countess, with their children, his two sisters, and her mother. His brother, a genteel young officer, was there upon a visit. The family being thus numerous, and the greatest portion of the house being occupied

pied with offices, little remained for bedrooms. These were few in number, and upon a contracted scale. The room, in which I slept, was about eleven feet by fourteen, yet contained two beds, one for me, the other for the brother of the count. The walls are white limed, the floors are smoothed with the addice, but not one is plained, and I do not recollect one ceiling. The beds have no curtains. The great hall where we dined is a double cube of about fifty by five and twenty; with these dimensions, if well fitted up, it would be elegant.

The stile of living resembled the old British hospitality; and the long oak table, surrounded by strong oak benches, was every day well covered.

I was at first surprised, and much disgusted, with a ragged and half naked visitor, who came up at dinner time, walked round the table, spoke freely to all the family, but in a manner to me quite unintelligible, sat down occasionally at the bottom of the table, and sometimes seized a bone, then laughed and chattered like a baboon; yet, with

with all this, appeared to give no offence. Upon enquiry, I found that this miserable object was the idiot of the village; and, as such, enjoyed the privilege of going where he pleased, and of doing what he pleased, without restraint.

Nothing can exceed their simplicity of manners in this distant province. Polished nations would be offended at their freedom, and the plainness with which they speak of things, which in the more advanced state of society must not be even hinted at; yet such language neither gives disgust, nor tends to excite the passions. But at the same time familiarities, such as in other countries are esteemed innocent, and, being rightly understood, neither imply nor lead to guilt, would here, and all over Spain, be highly offensive; would, if practised in public, excite universal horror, if in private, level every fence which virtue is engaged to maintain.

They use no paint, no powder, no curls, no cap; nothing but a bit of riband bound round the head. In this simplicity of dress, youth and beauty may enjoy their triumph; but

but the old women, for want of borrowed charms, have nothing which can please the eye. Yet gentlemen are not altogether void of attention to them, nor are they insensible to these attentions. A tradesman of Luanjo had cut his little portion of tobacco, and had rolled it up carefully in a strip of paper, making a cigar about the size of a goose quill; he had doubled back, and pinched carefully the ends; then with mature deliberation, taking up his steel, his flint, and his little bit of *amadou* (*boletus igniarius*) he struck a light, kindled his cigar, began to smoke, and finding it work well, he presented it to the countess. She bowed and took it, smoked it half out, and restored it to him again.

After the countess had done with the cigar, and had joined the conversation, in a few minutes she opened her mouth, and sent out a cloud of smoke. She saw my surprise, and asked the cause of it. I told her; and immediately the person who was smoking drew in some hearty whiffs, then opened his mouth to convince me that nothing continued there, and after many minutes he breathed out volumes of smoke.

smoke. This I find is their common mode of smoking; and without making it pass through their lungs they think it useless.

The government of Luanjo is in a corregidor, assisted by eight or ten regidores and two syndics, who are to protect the people from oppression. These magistrates once a year make a contract with the butcher, who will supply the market cheapest. In consequence of this agreement, beef sells for seven quarts; mutton, ten; bread, six per pound of twenty-four ounces. According to this, supposing the pound to be sixteen ounces, beef will be $1\frac{5}{8}$ penny; mutton, $1\frac{7}{8}$; bread, $1\frac{1}{8}$ per pound.

Labour is from three to five reales a day, or, without fractions, from seven pence to a shilling.

The land in all this province is estimated by the *dia de buyes*, or quantity which a yoke of oxen is supposed to plough in one day: but this differs in every district. About Oviedo they reckon the *dia de buyes* at sixty varas by thirty, or eighteen hundred square varas; at Luanjo it is sixty-four by forty-eight, or three thousand and sixty-

sixty-two ; and about Gijon they call it seventy by thirty-five, or two thousand four hundred and fifty varas square ; but in general the *dia de buyes* may be taken for about half an acre.

Near Luanjo the land produces, of wheat, ten for one upon the seed, and as it pays one fanega, or about ninety-two pound of wheat for every *dia de buyes*, we may reckon the rent at about sixteen shillings the acre.

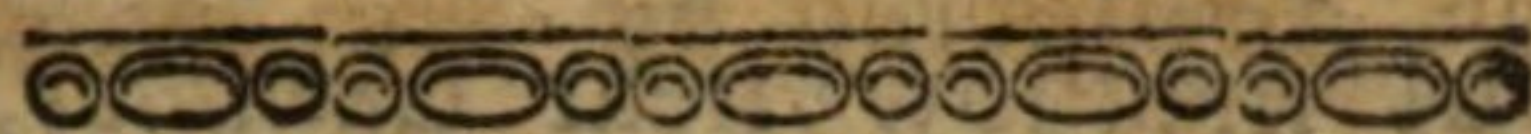
After spending a few days at Luanjo, we went to *Carrío*, another country-house belonging to the count, or rather to the countess, because in Spain the property of the husband, and of the wife are perfectly distinct. As long as she lives no one can take it from her, and when she dies, it passes to her children ; or, supposing it to be entailed, it devolves immediately to her eldest son, who, at the age of twenty-one, or sooner if he marries, takes possession, even though his father should be living. If she has titles of honour, she carries them with her to her husband, and transmits them to her heir. Upon marriage, the husband makes a declaration of the effects belonging

belonging severally to himself and to his wife; and her property is so much vested in her, that, in case of her husband's bankruptcy, his creditors have no power to touch it; but if at his death it is found that he has prospered in the world, she may claim her proportion of all the savings. The latter provision is unquestionably wise, but it may be imagined that the former must give much scope to fraud, and certainly it does; but then there are not wanting considerations to make men honest. A tradesman of Oviedo, at marriage, gave in a false specification, with a view to defraud his creditors, should he unfortunately break. The wife died soon after, and her relations claimed all the effects of which he had delivered in his declaration, as her property; and he, who had been well to pass previous to marriage, was left destitute, and could find no redress.

Carrio is a commodious habitation, neat and comfortable, but without higher pretensions, situated in the midst of a fertile country, near to a little river, and not far distant from the sea. In the domestic chapel, the count shewed

shewed me an altar, which is one solid block of marble, with the following inscription :

Imp. Cæsari Augusto Divi F.
Cos. 13. Imp. 20. Pont. M. 10.
Patr. Patriæ Trib. Pot. 32.



Sacrum.

This block was found at Cape Tauris, near the entrance into *Gijon* (Jixa of the Romans) and is mentioned, together with two others, discovered near to the same spot, by Mariana and Morales.

From Carrio we rode into *Gijon*, a considerable port, to which the English resort for filberts and chesnuts. It contains about eight hundred families. This harbour, made and maintained at a vast expence, is not reckoned safe; but there is no other in the vicinity, which can stand in competition with it.

We were entertained with great hospitality by Don Francisco Paular Jove Llanos, a captain in the marine, who is retired from service. An old officer in every country is a pleasant companion, and in no country more so than in Spain. In this gentleman

I found all that a foreigner can wish for, good sense, politeness, and great information.

The next morning, we returned by Carrio to Luanjo; and, in the way, stopped in a beautiful meadow near *Candace*, to partake of a little fête champêtre.

At *Peran*, in this vicinity, in the limestone rock, I met with a rich variety of extraneous fossils, of corals, corallines, and coralloides, with cockles, exposed by the fretting of the waves; and, upon examination, I traced this stratum running up into the country much above the level of the sea.

During my residence at Luanjo, the count shewed me a royal ordinance, dated 22d October 1785, stating, That the principal cause of the decay in agriculture was the unlimited power of the landlord to eject his tenants at the expiration of their leases; and appointing, that, from henceforth, in the Asturias, the farmer, provided he cultivated well, and was not considerably behind hand with his payments, should neither be ejected at the expiration of his term, nor have the rent raised; reserving both to
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the landlord and the tenant, an appeal to skilful persons, who should regulate the value of the farm, and give a compensation to the occupier, on his quitting it, for any improvements made either by himself or by his ancestors. This provision, most undoubtedly, is both wise and just; because it not only stimulates the industry of the farmer, but encourages his parsimony, by shewing him where he can immediately make all his gains productive, and thereby promotes the highest improvement of the soil. But, as for wisdom or justice in the former provision, I must freely confess, I can discover neither. Every thing is worth what it will fetch; and if men, who wish to find employment for their capitals, are willing to advance the rent, why should not the landlord avail himself of this? In most countries, the ruling powers are too busy, and will be meddling, when things would naturally, and without their interference, much better regulate themselves.

September 11, I returned to Aviles, and the count went to spend a few days at another country-house, whither he pressed

me much to bear him company; but I had neither health nor spirits for this excursion.

The resemblance between the Asturias and many parts of England is very striking. The same is the aspect of the country, as to verdure, inclosures, live hedges, hedge-rows, and woods; the same mixture of woodlands, arable and rich pasture; the same kind of trees, and crops, and fruit, and cattle.

Both suffer by humidity in winter, yet, from the same source, find an ample recompense in summer; and both enjoy a temperate climate, yet with this difference, that as to humidity and heat, the scale preponderates on the side of the Asturias. In sheltered spots, and not far distant from the sea, they have olives, vines, and oranges.

The cyder of this country is not so good as ours; but I am not able to determine, whether the fault is wholly in the making, or whether there is not likewise some natural imperfection in the fruit. Certain it is, that they pay little attention to this article, neither suffering the apples to hang the proper time upon the trees, nor select-

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ing the best kinds, nor leaving them to sweat, nor picking out bad fruit, nor racking off the cyder when it is fine. The opposite of all this, both as to the liquor and the fruit, is the practice of our best cyder counties. Not contented with racking once, we draw it off three or four times, if needful, always observing to do this when the cyder is become fine. For this purpose, they, who are most curious, will even sit up with it, when the time draws nigh, that they may seize the proper moment. If the Asturians paid attention to this, their cyder would become a considerable article of export, and, together with their nuts, and other fruits, would bring great wealth into the country.—Yet, with the best information and the most minute attention, it is by no means certain, that they would ever be able to produce a liquor equal in strength to that of our best counties, because of the prevailing humidity; on account of which, every thing this principality produces is inferior in its quality to the productions of a warmer climate. The herbs here dry away to nothing; and the wood burnt upon the hearth, makes little or no ashes, yet pro-

duces so much soot, that the chimneys are perpetually choked. Such is the humidity of this province, that the mistletoe grows not only on the oak, but on apples, pears, and thorns.

All the way from Aviles to Oviedo, we found the harvest over, and the people, men, women, and children, in the field threshing out the grain with flails; because, in this moist and temperate province, they cannot use the trillo.

Their flail is very heavy, and extravagantly long, not less than five feet in common, and the handstaff is nearly of the same length. In consequence of this, the motion of the flail is slow, and the exertions of the thresher turn to little account. To understand this subject, we must recollect the laws of motion. Now, when quick motion is communicated to the grain, whilst the straw remains unmoved, or when the straw receives the stroke, whilst the grain continues in a state of rest, a separation is the consequence. When either moves slowly, the other follows, and no separation is effected; but the greater the velocity of either, the more certain and speedy is the separation

separation of the grain. Supposing the straw and grain to be moved with different velocities, the same effect will follow in proportion to that difference. We must always remember, that the weight of impinging bodies being given, the magnitude of the stroke is directly as the velocity. This principle rightly understood and applied, would not only long since have banished heavy flails for threshing the lighter grains, but would, from the beginning, have led to the machine for coining now recently introduced at Birmingham.

Threshing is by no people better understood than by the Wiltshire peasants, who for wheat prefer a flail of three feet, weighing about twenty-four ounces, with a hand-staff of the same length.

In the Asturias, they depend upon the wind for winnowing, and have no idea of a machine for performing that operation in a barn. Were they to see the fan, formed after the model of a machine, first invented by Reifelius of Wurtemberg, called *rotatilis suctor et pressor*, but discovered by Dr. Papin, and from Holland introduced into this island; it is to be hoped, that, without either pre-

judice or scruples, they would immediately adopt it; and that no fanatic priest, as in North Britain, would condemn the use of it as impious, under the idea of not depending upon providence for a favourable breeze.

When I returned to Oviedo, a gentleman gave me a collection of amber and of jet, of which there is great abundance in this province; but the two most considerable mines of it are in the territory of Beloncia, one in a valley called *Las Guerrias*, the other on the side of a high mountain in the village of Arenas, in the parish of *Val de Soto*. The former is found in slate, and looks like wood; but when broke, the nodules discover a white crust, inclosing yellow amber, bright and transparent. Jet, and a species of kennel coal, abounding with marcasites, universally accompany the amber. The natural history of this curious substance is so little understood, that every fact relating to it should be treasured up. Till of late years, it was found only on the sea-shore, cast up by the waves; but even then the various insects inclosed in it, such as ants and flies, proved it to be a production
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of the land. But now we find it fossil, and hence trace a connection between bitumens and refins. We see it likewise as one link in a vast chain, the origin of which all philosophers are labouring to discover. We find it in a country, where the inclosing strata, and all the surrounding rocks, charged with marine shells and plants, shew clearly, that both it and they are the deposit of the ocean.—This subject will be frequently resumed, and, from its vast importance, merits the most minute attention.

When every one began to talk of winter, I thought it expedient to prepare for my return towards the south, before the mountains should be covered by the snow, which usually falls at the beginning of November, and sometimes even in the middle of October. I was not indeed in a condition to undertake the journey; but the fear of being shut up in the Asturias, till the return of spring, prevailed over all other considerations, and made me resolve to venture.

As the account of my indisposition may serve towards the natural history of the country, I shall briefly give it. The 21st of August, riding from Oviedo to Aviles,
on

on a rainy day, I was wet through; and at the end of our journey, as I had nothing at hand to change, I suffered my clothes to dry upon my back. I had, however, no reason to think that I had taken cold, till I perceived that I was gradually losing the use of all my limbs, without either pain or fever. The physician, at the end of one month, confined me to my bed, and forbade me the use of wine, allowing me only water and vegetables, till he had reduced me to the lowest state of debility. I submitted; but, feeling evidently that I was going fast from bad to worse, I took my leave of him, and, by the use of the bark, with a generous diet, I regained some degree of strength, and, getting myself placed upon a mule, I ventured to set forwards on my way towards the south.

The bishop and his family expressed their concern at my departure; yet, considering the humidity of their climate, and the near approach of winter, they were kind enough to consent that I should undertake the journey, in hope that a warmer and a drier air might restore my health.

JOURNEY

[88]

J O U R N E Y
FROM THE
ASTURIAS TO THE ESCURIAL.

OCTOBER 2, I left Oviedo, and passing through several little villages, came to *Mieres* in the middle of the day. At night I found a comfortable bed at *Campomanes*, having travelled ten leagues and an half over delightful hills, all either covered thick with wood, or highly cultivated.

In both these places I was much surprised at the moderation of their charges. At *Mieres*, for a dish of eggs, for dressing my fowl, and for the *ruido de la casa*, that is, for the noise of the house, or rather for attendance, the good woman required only a real, or something more than two pence farthing. At *Campomanes*, for the same and for my bed, the demand was two reales.

As

As we approached the confines of the principality, the scene greatly changed; for, instead of soft and swelling hills, covered with grass or clothed with woods; scarcely any thing was to be seen but stupendous rocks of limestone, some in long ridges rising perpendicular to the height of two or three hundred feet, others cragged and broken into a thousand forms. In this route, the way winds chiefly by the side of little rivers, brooks, or torrents, till it has passed the summit of that vast chain of mountains, which separates the Asturias from the Old Castille: yet in the midst of these stupendous mountains, a few rich vallies intervene, each with its little village, in size proportioned to the extent of land susceptible of cultivation.

In the ravins through which we passed, I observed that all the mills have horizontal water wheels. These grind the corn very slowly, being fed by single grains; but then to compensate for this defect, they place many near together, and the same little stream having communicated motion to one wheel, passes in succession to the rest. These are well suited to a country abounding

abounding with stone for building, where water runs with rapidity down a steep descent, and where dispatch is not required.

October 4, as we descended towards Leon, we overtook a Merino flock, belonging to the monastery of Guadalupe, in Estramadura. These monks have sufficient land near home to keep their flock during the winter months; but in the summer, when their own mountains are scorched, they send their sheep into the north, where, having no lands, they are obliged to pay for pasturage. They were on their return towards the south.

The great lords, and the religious houses, to whom belong these *trashumantes*, or travelling flocks, have peculiar privileges secured to them by a special code, called laws of the Mesta; privileges, by many considered as inconsistent with the general good.

This institution has been traced back to the year 1350, when the plague, which ravaged Europe for several years, had desolated Spain, leaving only one-third of its former inhabitants to cultivate the soil.

But

But perhaps we ought to look for its origin in more remote and distant ages, when the whole country was occupied by shepherd nations, and when agriculture was but little known. These certainly were the first inhabitants, or if not the first, at least, as the votaries of Pan, that venerable protector of the fleecy tribe, they may claim precedence before the more modern worshippers of Ceres. Occupying the hills with their numerous flocks and herds, it was natural for them in winter to quit a country then covered deep with snow, and to seek the more temperate regions of the south; till these, burnt up by the returning sun, refused them pasture, and drove them back again to the mountains of the north, which, during the summer months, are covered with perpetual verdure by the gradual melting of the snow.

The numbers of the Merino sheep are continually varying. Cajaleruela, who wrote A. D. 1627, complained that they were reduced from seven millions to two millions and an half. Ustariz reckoned in his time four millions; but now they are near five. The proprietors are numerous, some having

8

only

only three or four thousand, while others have ten times that number. The Duke of Infantado has forty thousand. Each proprietor has a mayoral or chief shepherd, to whom he allows annually one hundred doblons, or £.75, and a horse; and for every flock of two or three hundred sheep, a separate shepherd, who is paid according to his merit, from eight shillings a month to thirty, besides two pounds of bread a day for himself, and as much for his dog, with the privilege of keeping a few goats on his own account.

The produce of wool is reckoned to be about five pounds from every ewe, and eight from the wethers; and to shear eight of the former, or five of the latter, is reckoned a good day's work. Some, indeed, allow twelve sheep to every shearer; but even this comes short of what we do in England, where a common hand will dispatch sixty in a day, and a good workman has been known to finish half as many more.

The wool of the Merino sheep is worth little less than twelve pence a pound, whilst that of the stationary flocks sells for only six pence; and every sheep is reckoned to yield

yield a clear profit of ten pence to the proprietor, after all expences are discharged.

When the sheep are travelling, they may feed freely on all the wastes and commons; but, in passing through a cultivated country, they must be confined within their proper limits in a way, which is ninety varas wide. Hence it comes to pass, that, in such inhospitable districts, they are made to travel at the rate of six or seven leagues a day; but where pasture is to be had, they are suffered to move very slow. When they are to remove, either in the spring or autumn, if the lord has no lands, where his flocks are to be stationed, the chief shepherd goes before, and engages agistment, either of those proprietors who have more than sufficient for themselves, or of the corporations, who, in Spain, have usually extensive wastes and commons round their cities.

It is to these claims of the Merino flock that some political writers have attributed the want of cultivation in the interior provinces of Spain.

On descending once more into the plains
of

of Old Castille, an observation, confirmed by all with whom I had any communication on the subject, occurred to me, that the wine on the south side of the mountains, being transported to the north, improves greatly in its flavour, precisely as other wines improve by being removed to warmer climates.

At the end of three days, when I arrived at Leon, I was so well satisfied with the attention of my guide, that we made a fresh agreement, and he accompanied me to Salamanca. For himself, and for his mule, I was to allow him a hard dollar, or about four shillings a day, both in going and returning, he being to pay all his own expences on the road, which, for a stranger, is the best plan, although the natives find it more advantageous to maintain their guides.

Having settled all preliminaries, and made provision for the journey; on the 6th of October, we turned our backs on Leon; and, being by this time tolerably acquainted with each others dialect, we began a conversation by the way. The honest fellow, taking a hearty swig at the *borracho*, or leathern bottle, which contained our wine,

broke the silence, by telling me, that this was the skin of his most favourite cat; and then, continuing his discourse, gave me the history, both of the cat and of the countries through which he had travelled with her spoil.—This was to him, in all his journeys, a constant companion, a never-failing source of consolation; and he appeared to be as fond of her now dead, as it was possible for him to have been, whilst she was sensible of his careffes. The skin contained about a gallon, and usually served us, when filled, for more than half a day.

The way was over an extensive plain of sand and gravel, evidently brought from distant hills, all smooth, and rounded by the action of water. The crops are chiefly rye, with some wheat and barley. The trees are the ilex, the poplar, and the elm.

I was struck with the construction of their ploughs, not merely as having neither sheet, coulter, mould-board, fin (for to this defect I was become familiar), but as having the share morticed into the curved beam at least three inches above its heel, creating thereby a degree of friction, which must greatly increase the labour of the oxen.

Women

Women hold the plough. The cart-wheels are of plank, fixed upon the axis, like those in the Asturias, only they are better made.

The numerous villages contain from fifty to five or six hundred mud-wall cottages, but seem in general to be going to decay. The inns are more wretched than those of the Asturias, and are thought to be considerable, if they make up more than one bed.

At *Toral*, where we slept the first night from Leon, as soon as we arrived, I surveyed the premises, and made out my inventory of the furniture; finding in the chamber (for they had only one) two beds, two broken benches, one crippled table, and a little lamp dripping its oil, and smoking in the middle of the room. This circumstance is not uncommon, because they have no candles, and their lamps are of the most rude construction. I was, however, too much of a traveller to feel disgust, and was preparing to settle myself comfortably, when an old canon of Oviedo, with two school-boys, and a young friar, entering, told me, that they had bespoken this room some days before. I bowed submission, but

stopped one moment to enquire the age of this young friar. He informed me, that he was now in his seventeenth year; and that, two years before, at Aviles, in the Asturias, having accomplished his noviciate, he had bound himself by the irrevocable vows.

When I had retired, my faithful guide informed me, that he had procured a bed for me at the house of the curate, who was a friend of his, whither he instantly conducted me. Here I met with such a reception, that I had no reason to lament my disappointment at the posada.

The next morning we arrived at Benavente, and in the way had occasion to observe a change of dress. In this respect, every province has something peculiar to itself. The peasants, who attracted my attention, were from Astorga. They had round hats, leather jackets without sleeves, and trowsers somewhat resembling those of Dutchmen, perfectly corresponding with what were formerly worn by the *Brachati*.

Benavente is at present remarkable only for the palace of the dutchess, a vast and shapeless pile, possessing the marks of great antiquity,

antiquity, and commanding a most extensive property. This city seems to be going to decay, yet includes six convents. It is divided into nine parishes, and reckons two thousand two hundred and thirty-four souls.

Bread is here three quarts, or $\frac{27}{32}$ penny a pound of sixteen ounces; beef is seven quarts, or a small fraction under two pence; and mutton is two pence farthing a pound. The best wine is about five pence a gallon. These are the stated prices, when beef and mutton are to be had; but my guide having neglected to make provision for himself, must have been contented to pick the bones of my miserable fowl, had it not been for the bounty of a traveller, who had more than he could eat.

The road from Leon to Zamora is about eighteen Spanish leagues, all the way near the Esla, a little river whose water runs into the Duero below Zamora. From this circumstance the way is mostly level; the soil, to a great depth, is either granite sand, or clay of a weak contexture; and the villages are composed of mud-wall cottages.

At *Santa Oveña*, having the curiosity to

measure the room, which, like most in Spain, served the double purpose of bed-chamber and parlour, I found it to be twelve feet by ten; yet, in these contracted limits were contained, a bed, the treffels for another, a chair, a table, with two large chests for the king's tobacco, for barley, linen, and all the treasures of the family. The kitchen is nearly of the same dimensions: yet in this posada I counted thirty-five horses, mules, and asses, with their riders and drivers, who all found lodging for the night.

Whilst I was at supper, an old beggar entered. When I had given him bread, he kissed it, bowed his head, and left the room. Struck with his behaviour, I followed him instantly, and gave him money; he bowed, kissed it in silence, and left the inn.

Zamora, a city of great antiquity, is at present reduced very low, but formerly it must have been considerable, and will, I have no doubt, soon regain its consequence. Situated in a fertile country, on the confines of Portugal, watered by the Duero, and near the conflux of the Esla, it must always have invited plenty; and when the communi-

communication shall be opened by the canal, for the transport of its productions, it will daily grow in wealth. The extent of its fortifications, twenty-three parish churches, and sixteen convents, inclosed within the walls, in some measure serve to shew what it was; and the recent decorations of the cathedral give a good specimen of what it may hereafter be. This building is old, but the altar is modern, and is much to be admired for the variety of its marbles, chiefly from the Asturias; for the elegance of its composition; and for the beauty of its hangings, which are made of crimson velvet, richly embroidered with gold.

The chief manufactures are, of hats, ferges, coarse cloth, and nitre; but for the latter the climate is by no means favourable.

Beef is cheaper than at Benavente, being here only six quarts, or something more than three halfpence a pound; but pork is nearly three times as much.

From Zamora we travelled only three leagues, and rested for the night at *Corrales*, a village of three hundred and sixty cottages. It was not till next morning that I

fully comprehended for what reason we had made so short a journey the preceding day; but, upon our entering an extensive forest, my provident conductor told me, that he always chose to meet the morning, rather than to be overtaken by the night, whenever he was to pass through a forest, and that, by such precautions, he had frequently escaped unmolested, where others had been robbed.

From Corrales we ascended gently for three leagues, and then descending as many, at the end of seven hours we reached *Calzada de Valdeunciel*, having travelled for at least five hours through a forest, in which, as we proceeded, my guide told me the names of the eminences to be passed, all distinguished by one generic term *Confessionarios*; implying, that on these the traveller would stand in need of a confessor to prepare him for his fate. Considering the vast extent of this forest, and its vicinity to Portugal, no situation can be more favourable to robbers, or to the smuggler who, when he has been plundered himself, is apt to plunder others.

The soil here is most evidently decomposed

posed granite, with its quartz, feld spat, and mica. The trees are chiefly ilex, roble, and the cork tree.

All the way from Leon to Salamanca, for three and thirty leagues, or about one hundred and fifty miles, the country is so flat and open, that the Moorish horse, when they invaded Spain, must have met with nothing to impede their progress; because, in such extensive plains, an oppressed people, dispirited and disarmed, could have little inclination to make resistance; and had it not been for a more hardy race inhabiting the mountains of the north, the whole peninsula might at this moment have been numbered among the followers of Mahomet.

When I directed my course towards Salamanca, it was with a view of paying a visit, by appointment, to the marquis of Ovieco, but, unfortunately for me, on my arrival, I found that he was detained by illness at Madrid. This disappointment was the more vexatious, because I had no letters, nor any prospect of being introduced. I ventured, however, to present myself to Dr. Curtis, president of the Irish college, who

who received me with politeness, took me under his protection, and, during my ten days abode at Salamanca, considered me as part of his family.

His situation is respectable, and the convent, part of which he occupies, is one of the best in Spain. It was built A. D. 1614, by the jesuits, but, upon their expulsion, being found much too extensive for any one society, it was divided; the south side being given to the Irish, and the north to the bishop of the diocese for his students.

The wing, in the occupation of the former, is three stories high, and more than two hundred feet long. In the middle of each, through the whole extent, there runs a wide gallery to form a communication between a double range of bed-rooms. These long galleries having no light excepting at the ends, are well adapted to the climate: for even at noon, and during the most dissolving heats of summer, they afford a cool retreat. The whole building is covered with a terrace walk, commanding all the country; and here the young men take the air.

The wing devoted to the bishop's college

lege is nearly similar to this, with the addition of a cloister, and an elegant apartment of sixty feet by thirty, designed for conference and disputations.

The church is in common to both establishments, and is built upon such a plan as must do credit to the taste as well as to the wealth of the disgraced community.

In the Irish college, threescore students are received at a time, and when these are sent back to Ireland, the same number from thence are admitted, to be like them trained up for the ministry. Their course of education requires eight years. They are expected to come well founded in the languages; and of the time allotted to them in Spain, four years are given up to the study of philosophy, the remainder to divinity. The system of philosophy includes logic, metaphysics, mathematics, physics, and ethics. For these they read Jacquier; and for theology they follow P. Collet. They rise every morning at half past four, and have no vacations.

The mode of giving lectures is perhaps peculiar to themselves, but worthy to be followed in our universities. The students

have questions proposed for their discussion twice every day, and on these they are informed what books to read; then, supposing the subject to admit of a dispute, it is carried on by two of them under the direction of a moderator, who gives assistance when it is wanted, and guides them to the truth. Where this mode of proceeding is not admissible, the tutors, instead of giving formal lectures, employ themselves in the examination of their pupils, and the business of instruction is thus greatly expedited.

Dr. Curtis lives with his pupils like a father with his children; and, although in a state of banishment, seems happy in the discharge of his important functions. It is, however, much to be lamented, that he and they should be reduced to the necessity of seeking that protection in a foreign and distant country, to which they are entitled in their own. This kind of persecution is neither just nor politic. It is certain that ignorance and bigotry have a strong connection. Would you overcome inveterate prejudices, and are you anxious to banish superstition? let in the light. Would you conciliate the affections

affections of those who differ from you in their religious creed? no longer persecute. Embrace them, and from enemies they will become your friends; let in the light, and difference of opinion dies away. Catholics, in the more enlightened countries, are no longer papists; their whole system is going to decay; and, without claiming more than common sagacity, we may venture to foretel, that in proportion as the limits of toleration shall be extended, all that cannot bear the light will gradually vanish, till the distinction between catholics and protestants shall cease.

To hasten this event, the education of catholics in Ireland, for the purpose of the ministry, should not only be connived at, but should meet with all possible encouragement.

The university of Salamanca was founded in the year 1200, by Alfonso IX, king of Leon, and regulated by Alfonso, surnamed the Wise, (A. D. 1254) under whose protection flourished the greatest astronomers of Europe. This seminary soon rose into importance, and became eminent in Europe by acquaintance with the Arabian authors, and, through them, with the Greek.

Its

Its professors translated Avicena, who took the lead in medicine, and Averroes, who had bestowed much time in studying Aristotle; but not satisfied with copying from the Arabs, they laboured much themselves, and became justly famous in their day for their knowledge in jurisprudence, and for their progress in all the sciences then cultivated in Europe. The reverence of the first professors of this university for Aristotle and for Thomas Aquinas, continues to the present day. The court indeed has long declared war against them both, and repeatedly commanded that they should be abandoned; but, not having adopted such methods as are practicable, to secure obedience, the old professors walk in the same path in which their fathers walked before them.

We are not however to imagine that Salamanca produces no men of liberal ideas. Far be it from us to entertain such a thought; because we know that even in the darkest ages, some men of science were hid in convents, who, had they lived in more favourable times, would have diffused light, and have been admired in the world. One such, and I doubt not there may be many, I met with in D. Joseph Diaz, a father of the Augustines;

gustines; who, for learning, good sense, and liberality of sentiment, would be an ornament to any country.

The students were formerly reckoned about sixteen thousand, but they are now much reduced; and, in 1785, the number of matriculas was nineteen hundred and nine. In a curious edict of Charles V. for the regulation of mendicity, we find a clause permitting students in the universities to beg, provided they have a licence from the rector: but in the present day they appear to be in a more respectable condition, and few, if any, take advantage of this privilege.

The library is spacious, and tolerably well furnished with modern books; yet the bulk is trash, consisting principally of scholastic divinity.

Of all the public edifices, the cathedral is the most worthy of attention. The foundation of this ancient structure was laid A. D. 1513, but it was not finished till 1734. It is three hundred and seventy-eight feet long, one hundred and eighty-one wide in the clear, one hundred and thirty high in the nave, and eighty in the ailes. The whole is beautiful, but the most striking part of this church, and of many public buildings in this city, is the sculpture,

ture, which merits admiration, not only for the taste therein displayed, but for its excellent preservation. Over the principal door is represented, in bold relief, the adoration of the sages; and over another, the public entrance of Christ into Jerusalem; all appearing as fresh and sharp as if they were but recently put up.

The church of the Dominicans comes little short of the cathedral in point of sculpture. It has a representation of St. Stephen stoned, with a crucifix above it, all as large as life, and not apparently injured by the weather. Indeed in both these edifices the carvings are in some measure protected, not from a driving rain, but from its perpendicular descent, because they sink back as much as the thickness of the wall will permit, which is at least six feet, and are surrounded by mouldings projecting considerably beyond the wall. The precaution, without doubt, was prudent; yet I was not a little struck when I observed the ornaments of bass-relief preserving their sharpest angles, even when exposed to the full force of the destructive elements. This circumstance may be readily accounted for, when we consider that the stone is a grit, which

which when first taken from the quarry, is soft; but, upon being exposed to the air, acquires hardness. Hence it is peculiarly valuable both to the architect and the sculptor; and to these properties we may attribute the beautiful monuments of art which abound in Salamanca.

It would be tedious to describe the convents and public seminaries of this once famous city; yet, to pass them all in silence, would be inexcusable. I therefore briefly mention such as are most worthy of attention.

Among these may certainly be reckoned the old college. Here the quadrangle is small, yet elegant; and the cloister, with its four and twenty columns, one of the prettiest in Salamanca: the apartments are commodious, and those of the regent are in a superior stile.

The college of the archbishop is built upon a larger scale, more light and airy, and having four galleries of one hundred and thirty feet, with two and thirty columns supported by as many, which form the cloister, it may be called magnificent. The date of this building is 1550.

Cuenca college is remarkable at present for its neatness and simplicity; but the portico, when finished, will place it among the most elegant buildings of this city.

The college of Oviedo, with the churches of the *Augustinos Calzados* and of the *Carmelitas Descalzos*, deserve attention.

Of all these colleges and convents, it were endless to enumerate the treasures and rich jewels designed for the service of the altar. Whatever is most valuable, the produce of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, is here collected; and the best workmen, in every country, have exerted all their taste and skill, each in his several branch, to shew the perfection of his art. The ornaments and dresses of the priests are both rich and beautiful; but the most costly piece of furniture, in most convents, is the Custodia, that is, the depository of the host, or, according to the ideas of a catholic, the throne of the Most High, when, upon solemn festivals, he appears to command the adoration of mankind. It is not uncommon to expend six thousand ounces of silver upon one of these, besides gold and precious stones; yet, in most of them, the work-

workmanship surpasses the value of the materials.

The great square, although last mentioned, is not least worthy of attention. I had almost hourly occasion to pass through it, and never saw it without pleasure. It is spacious, regular, built upon arches, and surrounded with piazzas. Such a square would be admired *even* in London, or in Paris; but in a city like Salamanca, where all the streets are narrow, it gives peculiar expansion to the lungs, when you find yourself at liberty to breathe, when light bursts upon you by surprise, and when symmetry unites with greatness in all the objects by which you are encompassed.

The portico is not more to be admired for its beauty in the day, than for the protection it affords by night; because in this city they have an execrable custom, both offensive to the nostrils, and destructive of good clothes, similar to that, for which the inhabitants of the Old Town in Edinburgh have been deservedly reproached.

In the year 1030, there was not a single convent in Salamanca; and in 1480, previous to the discovery of America, they had only six for men, and three for women; but now

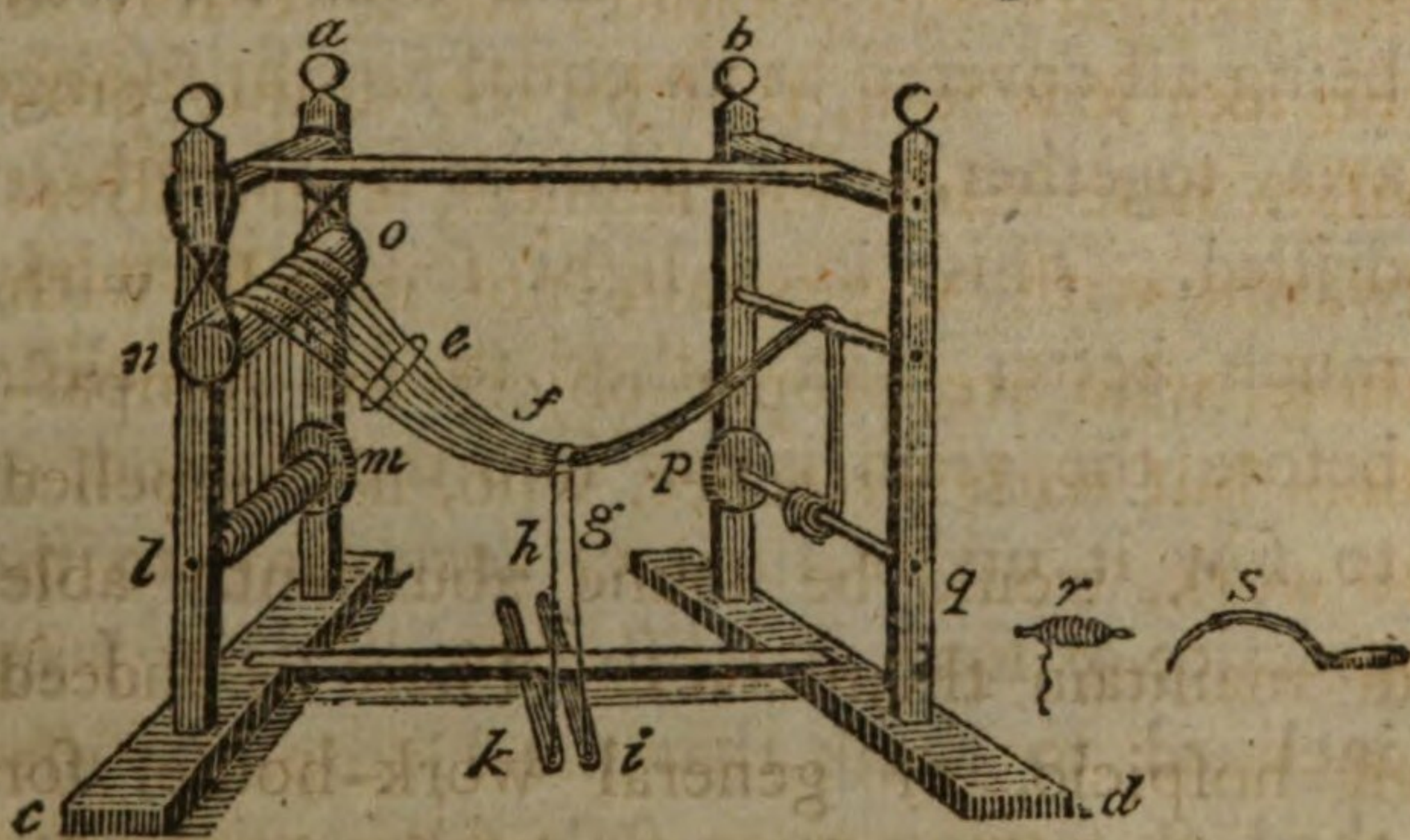
there are thirty-nine. In 1518, they counted eleven thousand virgins. At present the persons under vows are happily reduced to one thousand five hundred and nineteen.

The houses are no more than three thousand, yet they have twenty-seven parish churches, with fifteen chapels, and the clergy are, of those that are parochial, three hundred and ninety-nine; of the cathedral, one hundred thirty-two; besides the royal clergy of S. Mark, forty-nine; amounting in the whole to five hundred and eighty.

In a city where the convents and clergy are so numerous, it may be well expected, that beggars will abound; and agreeably to this idea it is seen, that by the ample provision here made for laziness, every street swarms with vagabonds, not merely with those, who are proper objects of compassion, but with wretches, who, if compelled to work, would be found abundantly able to maintain themselves. There is indeed an hospicio, or general work-house, for their reception; but as the funds are limited, and do not amount to sixteen hundred pounds a year, it can support only four hundred and fifty paupers. Should, however, the government be inclined to increase

crease these funds, it will make no great difference, because the numbers both in the work-house and the streets will always bear proportion to the food distributed. This truth can scarcely be inculcated too often; but I shall defer my observations upon it, till I come to treat of Cadiz.

Among the various implements in this hospicio, I was much pleased with one for weaving tape, both cheap and simple in its construction, and so expeditious in its work, that a little child weaves near fifty yards, and a woman more than one hundred and twenty, in a day. I shall describe it by the assistance of a drawing.



- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. b. c. d. | Is the frame. | to wind the warp. |
| e. f. | The warp, or chain. | n. o. The lantern to strain the |
| g. h. | The two harnesses. | warp. |
| i. k. | Treadles to work the | p. q. The roller and ratchet- |
| | harness. | wheel to wind the tape. |
| l. m. | The roller and ratchet | r. The bobbin. s. The slake. |

The bobbin is worked by the left hand alone, the fingers being kept under the chain, and the thumb above it. The flae is held in the right hand to beat up the work.

I was much pleased with the husbandry in the vicinity of this city, as being suited to the soil. The plough has neither coulter, fin, nor mould-board; but near the tail of the share it has two pins, so disposed as to lay the furrow in high rafters or ridges, like the roof of a house. In this condition the land is left till seed time, when the ploughman first sows the grain, then flits the furrow; and thus the seed, being all covered at an equal depth, springs away together, and appears as if it had been drilled. This, in a light soil, is certainly much better than either to plough clean before the grain is put into the ground, or to sow it under furrow, according to the practice of some English farmers; yet I am inclined to think that the Hampshire method of sowing upon stale fallows, and letting in the seed by drags, would be found more profitable.

It is well known, that by this modern improvement, the value of land has been
more

more than doubled upon all the Hampshire hills. When they were accustomed to plough often for their wheat, as in the low countries, and upon strong land, it has frequently happened, that after sowing four bushels to an acre, they have reaped only eight, and sometimes not more than half as much. But now, by suffering the land to settle, by scattering their seed upon the ground, when the whole perhaps is covered with thistles, and by passing their heavy drags twice over the field, moving each time the length-way of the furrow, they make a saving on the quantity of seed, and more than double the produce they were accustomed to receive. By improving on this practice, that is, by pushing the principle so far as to fold his sheep upon the land as fast as he had sown it, a judicious farmer, who lives at Cholterton in Wiltshire, a few years since reaped forty bushels from an acre, on land which, with different management, would probably never have yielded back the seed he sowed.

When I express myself satisfied with the husbandry in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, it is only so far as it relates to

ploughing; for, in no other respect has it any claim to approbation. The ploughman and the grazier, instead of being united in the same person, are here eternally at variance; and as the latter is the best tenant, the great proprietors give him the preference. Hence the country has been depopulated, and the lands, which are in tillage, for want of cattle to manure and tread them, produce light crops of corn. This bishopric formerly contained seven hundred and forty-eight corporation towns; but now it has only three hundred and thirty-three, the other four hundred and fifteen being deserted, and their arable lands reduced to pasture. To such an extent is the depopulation spread, that, in a space of seven leagues in length, and five in breadth, which formerly contained one hundred and twenty-seven towns, each with its corregidor and council, only thirteen remain. These have forty-seven churches.

The soil, I have said, is light. It is a sand, and evidently a decomposed granite, because, upon examination, it is seen to be plentifully charged with a fine white mica. The rock is chiefly granite, covered in some places

places with schist, but in others with silicious grit, which, as it appears to me, is nothing but the fine sand or broken quarts of the granite, united by a cement.

All men are fond of system: they assemble facts, and are never happier, than when from these they can deduce some general conclusion. The facts I wish to have recorded, are such as may trace out the origin of grit; and I am at present much inclined to think, that hereafter it will be given to the granite. The connection, as it relates to vicinity, stands confessed, and may be so far useful in making out the history of that great revolution which once happened to our earth; but, from my own observations, I am ready to infer a more intimate connection, and that they stand related to each other as effect and cause, or as the parent and his offspring.

I have already suggested this idea, and have ventured to draw one conclusion from it in respect to Monjouy, near Barcelona. If well founded, this will assist us to account for the astonishing number of large grit stones, or grey whethers, as they are called, on the Wiltshire Downs, and will confirm the diluvian system first suggested
by

by Mr. King, in the Philosophical Transactions of 1767. One of these large boulder stones of grit, contains fragments of white opaque, and likewise of transparent quartz, with two flint stones of a considerable size. I must, however, reserve what I have to say upon this subject, till I come to the description of the Alps, on my return from Spain.

The government of the city is in a corregidor, one alcalde mayor, and forty-eight regidores.

When I had satisfied my curiosity at Salamanca, and found my strength so far restored that I could with safety prosecute my journey, I made an agreement with a *Mozo del Camino*, for himself and mule, to go with me to the Escorial, not by the direct road, but by a small detour, in order to see, at Piedrahita, a famous country-seat built by the Duke of Alba. The next day, after dinner, October 22, I took leave of Dr. Curtis with a cordial regret at parting, and set forward on my way, proceeding towards Alba.

For the first two leagues we ascended gradually; then entered a forest of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, stretches
east

east and west near forty leagues. The acorns here are of the kind described by Horace, as the origin of war among the rude inhabitants of an infant world, "*glandem*" "*atque cubilia propter.*" Not austere, like those of the oak, or of the common ilex, but sweet and palatable, like the chestnut, they are food, not merely for the swine, but for the peasants, and yield considerable profit. Beyond the limits of this forest, we began to descend through a fine cultivated country, abounding with corn and wine; and at the distance of four short leagues from Salamanca, we reached *Alba*.

This city contains at present only three hundred houses, and has seven convents. One of them, that of the Carmelites, merits attention for its pictures, and for its treasures; but the greatest curiosity is the castle, with its round tower, supported by four square ones, in which is deposited the armour of all the dukes of Alba. To this ancient edifice they have added, at successive periods, more modern habitations, forming a considerable quadrangle; but unfortunately all the rooms are small.

About three leagues from hence, we entered another vast forest of the ilex, where

we saw many droves of swine, a village with a church, consisting of four cottages, including the habitation of the curate. Here we took up our quarters in the middle of the day; and having left it, were proceeding towards Piedrahita, when a fall of heavy and incessant rain compelled us to stop short of it, and to have recourse for shelter to a miserable village called *Malpartido*. The posada had only one bed for the use of the whole family; and as that was occupied by a lad, son to the good woman of the house, then dying of a putrid fever, we had a most uncomfortable prospect for the night. Besides the bed-chamber, they had, as usual, a kitchen, a room of about ten feet square, with an elevated hearth in the centre of it, over which a little opening in the roof afforded a vent for the smoke. Around the hearth was a wide bench, which by day supplied the place of chairs, and by night served the purpose of a bed. Upon this they designed to scatter straw for me, leaving my guide to measure his length on the bare board at the other end of this magnificent apartment. Happily, however, I had a pass from count Campomanes in my pocket. This I sent, with my humble duty to

to the alcalde, requesting that he would be pleased to procure me a lodging for the night. In a few minutes the messenger returned, and soon after the alcalde was announced. I rose up instantly, prepared to meet him with profound respect; but, instead of a haughty magistrate, such as my imagination had conceived him, behold a little insignificant man, humble in his appearance, dressed in a colete, or leathern jacket destitute of sleeves, and bound close round him with a girdle of the same materials. He informed me, that he had made all arrangements, and that the best bed in the village was preparing for me. He had scarcely finished, when the young man, whose place I was to occupy, entered to expostulate; but the alcalde cut him short with *no hay remedio*; and therefore, finding that it was to no purpose to complain, he quitted possession with a good grace, and took up his lodging in the house of some relation. Having thus secured a bed, I left my guide to take good care of the alcalde, as a token of gratitude for his attention, and retired to my quarters for the night.

In

In my new habitation I met with a comfortable bed, clean sheets, and a kind reception from the family ; and when I was to quit them in the morning, they could not be prevailed upon to accept a recompense. I was much surpris'd at finding such generous sentiments in a cottage ; but I have since had frequent opportunities of admiring the high spirit of the Spaniards, and, *in many instances*, their contempt for money.

The putrid fever was not confined to the posada ; it raged without restraint ; and, not only in this village, but in those of the vicinity, there was scarcely a house from which they had not lately buried one of the family. It is much to be lamented, that the curates in Spain are not taught the management of fevers. As they must attend the dying, to administer the sacraments, it would be a deed of mercy well suited to their character, and by no means inconsistent with their sacred functions, should they learn to prescribe the medicines, which, in England, when properly applied, generally succeed in checking the disease, and rescuing from death. This knowledge may be easily acquired ; and whenever it shall be
universally

universally diffused, fevers will cease to be so destructive as at present, and will be feared in many cases no more than fire, which, well regulated, is not only safe, but salutary; yet, if suffered to spread, is fatal to the house. It is not my intention to insinuate, that the two professions of physic and divinity should be united, but only that in every place there should be some one at hand, who might endeavour to extinguish this destructive flame the moment it appears; and, considering how small and thinly scattered are the villages in Spain, and how wretched their inhabitants, the curate is the only person from whom they may naturally expect relief.

The country beyond Malpartido is exceedingly broken; and the granite rocks, exposing their rugged fronts without a covering, shew clearly, that the summit of this great chain of mountains is not remote. We had been ascending all the way from Salamanca; but having left the Tormes, as we draw nigh to Piedrahita, the waters take another course, and run into the Adaja.

Piedrahita is a village of one hundred and fifty houses, with three convents and a beaterio, belonging to the dutchess of Alba, and famous

famous only on account of a country-seat erected here by the late duke, in imitation of the English. Instead of being built round a court, with a corridor, like the Spanish houses, it presents a front of one hundred feet, with two projecting wings of sixty feet; and the ground floor, instead of being abandoned to coach-house and stables, is occupied by the kitchen, the offices, and the principal apartments; and over these, are bed-chambers for servants. Contrary to the Spanish custom, every room is ceiled, and the walls are papered. Altogether, it is a comfortable residence; but, to an Englishman, it has no great pretensions. Had not the fairest part of its furniture been removed, it would have seemed more beautiful; for the dutchess, who had been there with her friends for a few weeks during the greatest heats of summer, was lately returned to court, and her presence would have made a more humble habitation appear enchanting.

In leaving Piedrahita, we continued along the valley, shut in between high mountains, all covered with the ilex and gumcistus. These, mixed with the grey granite rocks, make

make a beautiful appearance. As we advanced, we overtook several Merino flocks returning to the south. Near the *Casas del Puerto*, we entered another valley, running east and west near ten leagues, and never much more than a mile in breadth. At the end of it, stands *Avila*.

The soil is sand; the plough is like that last described; the fields are divided into small portions; and the pasture is common. Their sheep are folded, and the shepherd remains all night with his dogs near his flock, sheltered only by a straw cabin, just large enough to stretch himself at length. They have no iron about their carts, either on the wheels or axle-tree; the whole is wood. The oxen are yoked in pairs, and draw heavy burdens by their horns. The dress of the peasant is the *coleta*.

As soon as we arrived in *Avila*, I visited the market, to make, as usual, provision for the day; and having purchased a kid, which, when the Merino flocks are passing, sells for about ten reales, or two shillings, I sent it to the cook's shop, and then began my rambles. Whilst I was making some inquiries, a gentleman accosted me, gave

me the informations I required, undertook himself to be my guide, and, before we parted, made me engage to dine with him. This was D. Baltasar Lezaeta, a prebendary of the cathedral; from whom I received as much attention as if I had been recommended by a friend.

Avila has at present only a thousand houses, or one-sixth part of its former population; yet the convents are not diminished, being sixteen in number, nine for men, seven for women. Besides these, it maintains eight parish churches, a cathedral with forty canons, five hospitals; and a university. No wonder, then, that it should swarm, as it does, with sturdy beggars.

This city, built upon a granite rock, and inclosed by a wall, with eighty-eight projecting towers, has every where the appearance of great antiquity, but more especially in the cathedral.

In this are many things worthy of attention, but principally the cloister, for its exquisite neatness, and elegant simplicity. The sacristy is a good building, and the treasure contained in it, both in plate and
8
jewels,

jewels, would in England be called inestimable. The custodia, as usual, of solid silver, is four feet high, adorned with Ionic, Composite, and Corinthian columns, and displays much taste both in its design and execution. Among their jewels they have the pectoral of the late archbishop of Toledo, the infant don Luis, valuable chiefly for its gems, all large and of the finest water. The choir has beautiful carvings.

Of the convents, the most remarkable are those of the Carmelites; one for nuns, the other for friars; the latter built upon the spot where S. Teresa was born, the former where she took the veil. In this, the principal thing at present worthy to be noticed, is a picture by Morales, representing a dead Christ in his mother's arms; of which, nothing need be said after having named the painter, because all his works have such peculiar softness and expression, that men have universally agreed in calling him, divine. The Carmelites of Avila once possessed a treasure infinitely more valuable to them, than all the pictures ever painted by Morales: this was the body of S. Teresa. It was originally interred at Alba, A. D.

1582, but three years afterwards it was secretly taken up, and conveyed to Avila, where it was not suffered long to rest; for the duke of Alba finding all other expedients vain, made application to the pope, and obtained an order for its return.

The life of S. Teresa, lately published among those of other saints, by the Rev. A. Butler, is peculiarly interesting. Her frame was naturally delicate, her imagination lively, and her mind, incapable of being fixed by trivial objects, turned with avidity to those, which religion offered, the moment they were presented to her view. But unfortunately meeting with the writings of S. Jerom, she became enamoured of the monastic life, and quitting the line, for which nature designed her, she renounced the most endearing ties, and bound herself by the irrevocable vow. Deep melancholy then seized on her, and increased to such a degree, that for many days she lay both motionless and senseless, like one who is in a trance. Her tender frame, thus shaken, prepared her for extasies and visions, such as it might appear invidious to repeat, were they not related by herself, and by her greatest

greatest admirers. She tells us, that in the fervour of her devotion, she not only became insensible to every thing around her, but that her body was often lifted up from the earth, although she endeavoured to resist the motion; and bishop Yenez relates in particular, that when she was going to receive the eucharist at Avila, she was raised in a rapture higher than the grate, through which, as usual in nunneries, it was presented to her. She often heard the voice of God, when she was recovered from a trance; but sometimes the devil, by imitation, endeavoured to deceive her; yet she was always able to detect the fraud. She frequently saw S. Peter and S. Paul standing on her left hand, whilst our Lord presented himself before her eyes in such a manner, that it was impossible for her to think it was the devil; yet, in obedience to the church, and by the advice of her confessor, she insulted the vision, as she had been used to do the evil spirits, by crossing herself, and making signs of scorn. Once, when she held in her hand the cross which was at the end of her beads, our Lord took it from her, and when he restored it, she

saw it composed of four large gems incomparably more precious than diamonds. These had his five wounds engraved upon them after a most curious manner; and he told her, that she should always see that same appearance: and so she did; for from that time she no longer saw the matter, of which the cross was made, but only these precious stones, although no one saw them but herself. Whenever devils appeared to her in hideous forms, she soon made them keep their distance, by sprinkling the ground with holy water. She had often the happiness of seeing souls freed from purgatory, and carried up to heaven; but she never saw more than three which escaped the purifying flame, and these were F. Peter of Alcantara, F. Ivagnez, and a Carmelite friar.

It is acknowledged, that many of her friends, distinguished for their good sense and piety, after examination, were of opinion, that she was deluded by the devil; yet such was the complexion of the times, that she was at last universally regarded as a saint. She had indeed every thing needful to conciliate the good opinion of her friends, and the admiration

admiration of the multitude. The gracefulness and dignity of her appearance, the softness of her manners, and the loveliness of her disposition, the quickness of her wit, the strength of her understanding, and the fire of her imagination, all her natural accomplishments receiving lustre from her exalted piety and zeal, from the sanctity of her life, and the severity of her discipline, all conspired to establish her reputation, as one that had immediate intercourse with heaven.

It is curious, yet most humiliating, to see a person of this description, amiable and respectable as S. Teresa, deceived, and, with the best intentions, deceiving others. In this instance, we can readily account for the delusion from the delicacy and weakness of her frame, the strength of a disturbed imagination, and the prevalence of superstition. But when we see men of the finest understandings, in perfect health, of different and distant nations, in all ages, treading upon the same enchanted ground, we can only wonder; for who can give any rational account of the aberrations of our reason? The history of mysticism, if well

written, would be highly interesting, as embracing some of the finest characters that were ever admired in the world. Should any able writer be engaged to undertake this work, he will explain to us the principles upon which Bossuet, that prodigy of learning, persecuted Fenelon, the most amiable of men, whilst S. Francis of Sales was the object of his adoration; and why he poured contempt upon Madame Guion, whilst he had the highest reverence for S. Teresa.

This extraordinary woman, cherished by sovereign princes, universally admired whilst living, and worshipped when dead, had the happiness of leaving behind her sixteen nunneries, and fourteen convents of friars, founded by herself, and subject to the order of Carmelites, which she had reformed.

Avila, although it no longer possesses her remains, yet, as the place of her nativity and chief residence, is much resorted to at the season of her festival. It has no manufactures. Some years since they began making cloth, but the situation not being favourable, the project was abandoned, and their dependence at present is on the produce
of

of the foil. The country abounds with saffron, and this for a season finds employment for the women and the children. Were it not for the cathedral and the convents, the city would be deserted, because not one proprietor of land resides here; the whole being either rented, or held in *administration*, as they express it; that is, cultivated by stewards on the proprietors account.

No country can suffer more than Spain for want of a rich tenantry; and, perhaps, none in this respect can rival England. We find universally that wealth produces wealth; but then, to produce it from the earth, a due proportion of it must be in the pocket of the farmer. Many gentlemen among us, either for amusement, or with a view to gain, have given attention to agriculture, and have occupied much land; they have produced luxuriant crops, and have introduced good husbandry; but, I apprehend, few can boast of having made much profit, and most are ready to confess that they have suffered loss. If, then, residing on their own estates, with all their attention, they are considerable losers; how great would be the loss, if in distant provinces

vinces they employed only stewards, to plough, to sow, to sell, and to eat up all the produce of their lands? In France they are so sensible of this, that for want of wealthy farmers, the proprietor finds stock, and takes his proportion of the produce; but in Spain, excepting a few provinces, the lands are commonly in administration; and hence, extensive districts yield only a contemptible revenue to their lord.

From Avila we proceeded about a league through a rich valley, and then began to climb those mountains, which, dividing the two Castilles, formed for many ages the strong barrier between the Christians and the Moors; till Ferdinand I. descending with the united forces of Castille and Leon into the plain, drove the infidels before him, and displayed his victorious banners in Guadalajara, Alcalá, and Madrid.

On these high mountains we travelled near five leagues without seeing a human face, or habitation, and scarcely a beaten track.

At a lower level we found the ilex. As we ascended, these were succeeded by the noble oak; but near the summit we saw
only

only pines, with the *juniperus europæus*, the *daphne mezereum*, the *matricaria inodora*, the *genista*, and a variety of aromatic herbs, but chiefly thyme. At almost every level, the cistus tribes abound upon the granite mountains, excepting where, like these, the summits are covered with an eternal snow.

The first little village we passed through, is called *Naval Peral*; the next, at the distance of a league, *Navas del Marqués*; this, although it has only fifty cottages, has a church, a chapel, and a convent. From hence we proceeded about three leagues, and then began descending into the plains of New Castille.

All the way from Salamanca I observed saffron growing wild, which, if collected, would help to employ the poor in their villages, and yield considerable profit.

As we approached the Escorial, we entered upon the king's hunting road, made like those of England, rather for use than beauty. Had the Spaniards been everywhere satisfied with such; where they have finished one league, they might have completed twenty. Their ambition aims in every

every thing at perfection, and by seeking too much, they often obtain too little. The idea they have formed to themselves of a perfect road, in point of utility, is most undoubtedly well founded; but in attempting to reduce this to practice, they are forced to lose much time, and to expend more money than the benefit to be derived from it is worth. Had their ambition been less aspiring, ere now a communication would have been opened between all their great cities, and much of their produce, now lost, would have found a market. This hunting road should convince the theorists among them, that a high-way may be firm without side walls, and support any given weight without such a foundation of huge rocks as would be needful for a castle. And although, for the mere purpose of expedition, to be perfectly both strait and level would be desirable, yet the traveller is better pleased where he finds variety, and is charmed, as he proceeds, with a constant succession of new prospects.

On my arrival at my journey's end, I found a letter from our minister, Mr. Liston, to inform me, that when the court
left

left S. Ildefonso, where he had been for some time expecting me, he had visited Madrid, and that he should not come to the Escorial till the beginning of the week,

Having therefore some time to spare for the excursion, I immediately proceeded to repass the mountains, not returning by the same road, but going eastward by Guadarama, and crossing by the *Puerto de Fuenfria*, a pass so called from the coldness of its waters. This puerto is elevated, and the prospect from it is delightful; but with the scorching sun, the ascent to it is scarcely bearable. In looking down towards Segovia, the whole country appears level, like the surface of a lake, and extended like the ocean; but, as we descend into this plain, we see the mountains rise before us. The country immediately around us, near this summit, is majestically wild, with deep ravins and projecting rocks, covered with pines, wherever pines can grow, and torn by raging torrents.

In a deep recess, open and exposed only to the north wind, stands S. Ildefonso, enjoying freshness, and gathering the fruits of
spring,

spring, when all to the south of these high mountains, fainting with heat, are engaged in reaping, and collecting the autumnal crops. This change of climate, in the space of eight leagues, for that is the distance from the Escorial to S. Ildefonso, induced Philip V. to build a palace here.

S. Ildefonso occupies three sides of a square, the two wings of which being joined, each by a long range of buildings, designed for the king's retinue, and closed in at bottom by iron gates and rails; the whole forms a beautiful and spacious area. The principal front, of five hundred and thirty feet in length, is to the south, looking to the garden, and through its whole extent the apartments communicate with all the doors on the same line.

To give some idea of the pictures, it may be sufficient to name the masters, whose works have been here collected by Philip, and by succeeding princes. The principal are Leonardo de Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Hannibal Caraci, Guercino, Guido, Carlo Maratti, Correggio, Rubens, Poussin, Paul Veronese, Wouverman, Teniers, Martin de Vos, Andrea del Sarto, Vandyke,

Vandyke, Dominicini, Tintoret, w Albert Durer, Jordano, Velasquez, Ribera, Ribalta, Valdez, Murillo, Mengs. In the church, the fresco paintings are by Bayeu, Mariano, and Maella.

In the lower apartments is a collection of antique statues, made by Christina, queen of Sweden, and considered as inestimable.

The church is dark, but elegant ; and, with respect to treasures, has few to rival it in Spain. Among the vast variety of gold and silver ornaments, the most striking is one of the *custodias*, valued originally at seventy thousand ducats, or £. 7,690. 8 s. 6 d. sterling.

The garden occupies a ridge, rising to the south, and falling both to the east and to the west. Near the palace it is laid out in the old taste, with clipped hedges and straight walks, highly adorned and refreshed with numerous fountains ; but in proportion to the distance, it becomes more wild, till it terminates in the uncultivated and pathless forest, where the cragged rocks appearing among oaks and pines, present a striking contrast with the works of art.

This

This garden, delightful for its walks, which, although shady, are neither damp nor gloomy, is most to be admired for its fountains. Of these, the most remarkable are eight, dedicated to the principal heathen deities, and adorned each with its proper emblems. In one, Diana appears attended by her nymphs, who are hiding her from Acteon. In another is seen Latona with Apollo and Diana, surrounded by sixty-four jets of water. The most surprising is Fame seated on Pegasus, with a trumpet to her mouth, throwing up a stream of more than two inches in diameter to the height of one hundred and thirty-two feet. But the most pleasing sight is the *Plazuela de las Ocho Calles*, where eight walks unite, each with its fountain in the centre, and where eight other fountains, under lofty arches, supported by Ionic pillars of white Italian marble, form an octagon, adorned with the images of Saturn, Minerva, Vesta, Neptune, Ceres, Mars, Hercules, and Peace, standing round it; and Apollo, with Pandora, in the middle. The statues are all of lead, varnished in imitation of brass, and were made by Fermin and Tierri.

Besides

Besides fountains innumerable, here are vast reservoirs and falls of water, so disposed as to contribute much to the beauty of the place.

When we consider, that the whole of the garden was a barren rock, that the soil is brought from a great distance, and that water is conveyed to every tree; when we reflect upon the quantity of lead used for the images, and of cast iron for the pipes, with the expence of workmanship for both, we shall not be surpris'd to hear that this place cost forty-five millions of piastres, or, in English money, near six millions and an half.

Nothing is more whimsical than taste; but, if it be true, that beauty is founded in utility; this place will always deserve to be admired. In the present day, it is not uncommon to build the mansion in the middle of a field, open and exposed to every wind, without shelter, without a fence, and wholly unconnected with the garden. Near the habitation all is wild, and art, if any where, appears only at a distance. In all this we can trace no utility, nor will succeeding generations discover beauty. On the contrary, in the garden of S. Ildefonso,

we find every thing, which in a sultry season is desirable ; a free circulation of air, a deep shade, and refreshing vapours to absorb the heat ; whilst from its contiguity to the mansion, the access to it is easy, and at any time these comforts may be instantly enjoyed ; yet, without these numerous fountains, the clipped hedges, and the narrow walks, the circulation would be less rapid, the shade less deep, and the refreshing vapour would be wanting.

The glass manufacture is here carried to a degree of perfection unknown in England. The largest mirrors are made in a brass frame, one hundred and sixty - two inches long, ninety - three wide, and six deep, weighing near nine tons. These are designed wholly for the royal palaces, and for presents from the king. Yet, even for such purposes, it is ill placed, and proves a devouring monster in a country where provisions are dear, fewel scarce, and carriage exceedingly expensive.

Here is also a royal manufacture of linen, employing about fifteen looms ; by which, as it is said, the king is a considerable loser.

Being now within the distance of two short leagues from Segovia, I could not re-
turn

turn without paying a visit to that interesting city. In the way to it, there is little appearance of cultivation, and the obvious reason is the continual depredations occasioned by the royal deer. As we passed through the woods, before we came into the open field, we saw vast herds of them, unconfined, and free to range unmolested over all the country.

In Segovia, the first object to attract the eye, is the aqueduct. It contains one hundred and fifty-nine arches, extends about seven hundred and forty yards, and, where it crosses the valley, it is something more than ninety-four feet high.

The cathedral has no great pretensions; yet in one of the chapels there is a good altar, with the Descent from the Cross well executed in mezzo rilievo, by a disciple of Michael Angelo, and finished A. D. 1571. The church is nearly upon the model of the great church at Salamanca, but it is not so highly finished.

The Alcazar, or ancient palace of the Moors, has been so often described, that I should pass it over in silence, did not the attentions I received there deserve a particular remembrance. I had no letters, and

count Lacy, the inspector, was absent ; but, upon presenting myself to his lieutenant, as a stranger, he received me with politeness, and conducted me to every apartment. This strong tower is no longer, as formerly, a state prison : it serves a more honourable purpose, and is devoted to one hundred cavaliers, who are here instructed in the military science. The sight of this building gave me pleasure, more especially the great hall, with the images of all their monarchs ; but the highest satisfaction was, to see the Spanish character strongly marked in the countenances of many among the young gentlemen who are educated here. A Spaniard may possibly grow rich in trade ; he may make a progress in the sciences ; but, were he left to follow his natural inclination, he would certainly betake himself to a military life ; and for that, if generosity, if patience and fortitude, if a spirit of enterprise, are requisite, in all these the true Spaniard will excel.

Segovia was once famous for its cloth, made on the king's account ; but other nations have since become rivals in this branch, and the manufacture in this city has been gradually declining. When the king gave it

it up to a private company, he left about three thousand pounds in trade; but now he is no longer a partner in the business. In the year 1612, were made here, twenty-five thousand five hundred pieces of cloth, which consumed forty-four thousand six hundred and twenty-five quintals of wool, employed thirty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-nine persons; but at present they make only about four thousand pieces. The principal imperfections of this cloth are, that the thread is not even, and that much grease remains in it, when it is delivered to the dyer; in consequence of which, the colour is apt to fail. Yet independantly of imperfections, so many are the disadvantages under which the manufacture labours, that foreigners can afford to pay three pounds for the arroba of fine wool, for which the Spaniard gives no more than twenty shillings, and after all his charges can command the market even in the ports of Spain.

In the year 1525, the city contained five thousand families; but now they do not surpass two thousand: a scanty population this for twenty-five parishes: yet, besides the

twenty-five churches, together with the cathedral, they have one and twenty convents. When the canal is finished, and the communication opened to the Bay of Biscay at S. Ander, the trade and manufactures of Segovia may revive; but, previous to that event, there can be nothing to inspire them with hope.

As we returned (October 28,) towards New Castille, my intention was to have travelled at our leisure; but, observing some degree of impatience in my guide to repass the mountains before night, I was happy to indulge him; and the next morning, when I looked back and saw the lofty summits covered deep with snow, I comprehended the reason of his solicitude. The ways behind us were rendered thus for the time impassable, whilst all before us had been only watered by soft and refreshing showers.

In the Old Castille, the usual price demanded by a muleteer is four reals a day for himself, as many for his mule, and six for barley, altogether equal to 2s. 9d.; but should you omit to make a bargain, you must depend upon his mercy. The whole expence of travelling may be reckoned at ten shillings

shillings a day, if you go straight forwards; but if you make a circle, or return with the same mule, it comes to about 7s. 6d.

The convent of S. Lorenzo is seated in a deep recess, at the foot of those high mountains, which separate the two Castilles; and, protected from every wind, except the south-east, it looks down upon a wide extended plain, with all the neighbouring hills covered by thick woods, whilst the mountains to the north are bare, or covered almost perpetually with snow. It was built by Philip II. in obedience to his father Charles V. to accomplish his vow made after the battle of S. Quintin, which he gained by the intercession of S. Lorenzo. In honour of that saint, the architect, Juan Bautista de Toledo, took his idea from a gridiron, the instrument on which he suffered, making the royal residence project by way of handle, and representing, not only the bars by multiplied divisions, but the legs, by four high towers placed in the angles of this edifice. The dimensions of the convent are seven hundred and forty Spanish feet by five hundred and eighty, and the height is sixty; but the dome of the church is three hundred and thirty. The whole was finished under the

inspection of Juan de Herrera, who was pupil to Bautista.

The friars of this convent are one hundred and sixty, and their annual revenue is five millions of reals, or about fifty thousand pounds, arising partly from land, and partly from their flock of thirty-six thousand Merino sheep, besides one thousand kept constantly near home, for the consumption of the family.

Their library consists of thirty thousand volumes, contained in two magnificent apartments, each, one hundred and ninety-four Spanish, or something more than one hundred and eighty-two English feet in length. In the lower room, are chiefly printed books; yet in it is deposited the famous manuscript of the Four Gospels, written in gold letters, a work of the eleventh century. Over these are collected four thousand three hundred manuscripts, of which five hundred and sixty-seven are Greek, sixty-seven Hebrew, and one thousand eight hundred Arabic, the latter well described in a catalogue lately published by Casiri.

In the middle of the lower room is a temple, with a great variety of figures, containing one thousand four hundred and
forty-



Rev. J. J. Townsend delin.

Sparrow sculp.

*View of the Palace of the Escurial and Convent of St. Lorenzo,
seen from the Hermitage.*

forty-eight ounces of silver, and forty-three of gold, beside rich gems.

To a connoisseur in paintings, no place can afford higher entertainment than the convent of the Escorial. In every part of it are seen the works of the best masters, and some of their most capital performances. It were endless to enumerate particulars. Suffice it to say, that during the residence of a month, I never failed a single day visiting the convent, and never left it without regret ; always giving a more minute attention to the productions of those artists who are the least known in England. I had peculiar pleasure in finding here, so many monuments of Titian, who, during a residence of five years in Spain, constantly exercised his pencil to enrich this nation, and to immortalize his name. The pictures which most rivetted my attention, were the famous Supper of Christ with the disciples, by Titian ; and a Holy Family, by Raphael ; the latter once in the possession of our Charles, but sold by Cromwell, and purchased by the Spanish ambassador, for two thousand pounds : it is called *La Perla*. The best of the pictures are collected in five principal apartments : in the sacristy, a room
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of one hundred and eight by thirty-three; in the *iglesia vieja*, which is one hundred and five by thirty-four; and in two halls of eighty by twenty, with their antichamber. These last are called Las Salas de los Capítulos, and, whilst the court is here, are occupied by count Florida Blanca, on his public days. The great stair-case is beautiful, adorned with fresco paintings of the battle of St. Quintin, by Luca Jordano.

The pantheon, or catacomb, where the royal family, beginning with Charles V. are buried, is a subterranean vault of beautiful marble, highly finished, capable of receiving twenty-six bodies, each in its own recess.

As for the treasures of the church, they are inestimable. The image of S. Lorenzo alone contains four hundred and fifty pounds of silver, with eighteen pounds of gold; yet this bears a small proportion to the rest.

At a little distance from the convent, the prince of Asturias, and one of his brothers, the infant Don Gabriel, have each a little box, fitted up with exquisite taste, and hung with the best pictures, to which they often retire with their friends. That of the prince is the most elegant, and, as far as can be warranted by one specimen, forms a happy

prefage for the arts, whenever he shall mount the throne.

The Escorial, as a residence, is far from pleasant. Were it low, and sheltered, like Aranjuez, it would be agreeable in spring; or, were it elevated, hanging to the north, and covered by thick woods, like S. Ildefonso, it might be delightful as a retreat in summer; but exposed, as it is, to the full stroke of the meridian sun, and raised up near to regions covered with eternal snow, without shelter, and destitute of shade, it has no local charms at any season of the year. The ministers, foreign and domestic, give good dinners, and do every thing they can to make this solitude supportable; but, as few ladies can be accommodated here, the assemblies want that gaiety which is peculiar to the sex.

The king spends most of his time in shooting. In the middle of the day, after a short excursion, he returns to dinner, converses with the foreign ministers, retires for a few minutes with his confessor, and, generally before three, sometimes much sooner, leaves the palace, and goes to the distance of twenty or thirty miles before he begins to hunt. When the light fails, he gets in-
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to his carriage, and returns. No weather deters him, because he is not afraid of either thunder, lightning, hail, rain, or snow, but when one cloak is wet, he puts on another; and as for his attendants, he tells them coolly, "Rain breaks no bones." No holidays detain him from his sport, except two in the passion-week; and then, although he is naturally of a most placid temper, he is said to be so cross, that no one chooses to come near him. Even when one of his sons was thought to be at the point of death, he went out as usual, always insisting that he would certainly recover; and when informed that his son was dead, he replied, with his accustomed calmness, "Well, then, since nothing can be done, we must make the best of it." His usual attendants are the prince of Asturias, the captain of the guard, his master of the horse, his groom of the stole, his physician, and his surgeon. All these occupy five carriages; besides which, there is one for medicines, guns, ammunition, dry clothes, &c. Each carriage has six mules; and as, upon the road, there are several relays for them and for the guards, the number required for daily use is about two hundred. Their rate of travelling is twelve
miles

miles an hour ; in consequence of which, accidents happen frequently to the men, and to the mules.

In hunting, the king does not depend altogether on his dogs : he has commonly about two hundred men employed to beat up the game, and drive it towards him at convenient places, where he and the prince are ready, with servants attending to charge the guns, and to hand them forwards as fast as they are fired. No game comes amiss to him ; but he is peculiarly flattered with the idea of delivering the country from wolves, of which he keeps an exact account ; and, when I was at the Escorial, the number he had shot was eight hundred and eighteen. Whenever one is heard of within a reasonable distance, a multitude of people, from sixteen hundred to two thousand, according to the extent of the mountain, are sent out to watch, surround, and drive it into some spot, where the king may have the best chance for killing it. To these he gives six reals each ; but if he kills the wolf, the watchmen have double pay. This expence, it must be confessed, is needless ; because a few peasants would often be sufficient, either to destroy the enemy, or make him

him quit the country; but where a good sovereign has pleasure in a pursuit, his subjects will be the last to think, that he can purchase it too dearly. It were happy, however, for Spain, were this the whole expence; but it certainly bears a small proportion to the sum total of what the nation loses by the king's rage for hunting. All round the *sitios*, or royal mansions, the wastes are of vast extent. I am informed, that the forest of the Pardo is thirty leagues in circumference; and if to this be added, all the uncultivated land near Aranjuez, S. Ildefonso, and the Escorial; if, moreover, we consider that the deer, being unconfined, range freely over the intermediate country, how high will be the estimate! It is true, the king pays the farmers to the utmost for the damages they suffer; but then, the injury sustained by the community cannot be so easily compensated, because the country, wanting food, is depopulated, and the villages are gone to ruin.

I have been told by those, who are best acquainted with the king, that in his youth he had acquired a taste for letters, but being checked in that pursuit, he had given
scope

scope to the family propensity, a propensity not only now confirmed by inveterate habits, but encouraged in himself with a view to avoid entanglements. He is certainly a man of principle, and is universally allowed to be one of the most virtuous men in his dominions ; but this purity of morals he himself attributes to his mind being constantly amused, and not to his natural constitution.

I prolonged my stay at the Escurial, chiefly for the purpose of being present at the *Batida*, or royal hunt, of which there are four every year. This was ordered for the 28th of November, previous to the departure of the court.

On the day appointed, Mr. Liston had the goodness to place me with the Neapolitan ambassador, who, as representing one of the family, gave a sumptuous repast upon the occasion ; and in his carriage I proceeded to the scene of action. It was an extensive plain, with a rising ground commanding it, and, at the distance of about half a mile from this eminence, rose a little wood, in which the king, with his three sons, were hid, attended by their servants.

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For many days previous to this, two thousand men had been dispersed in parties over the whole country to disturb the game, and to drive it towards the common centre, by patrolling night and day, and constantly, yet slowly, drawing nearer to each other. Soon after we had occupied our station on a rising ground, we began to see the deer at a vast distance bounding over the plain from every quarter, and making towards the fatal spot. As they approached, we heard, faintly at first, then more distinctly, the sound of guns, and saw the confusion of the game, moving quick in all directions, but changing their course at every instant, as if uncertain where to look for safety. When the scouring parties came first in sight, they appeared to be separated by intervals, and to confine the game merely by their shouts and by the firing of their arms; but as they advanced upon the plain, they formed a wall, and as they drew nearer, they strengthened this by the doubling of their ranks, compelling thus the game to pass in vast droves before the royal marksmen. Then began the carnage; and for more than a quarter of an hour the firing was incessant. Some of
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the deer, who had either more discernment than the rest, or a better memory; who were actuated by stronger fears, or, perhaps, by more exalted courage, absolutely refused to proceed, when they approached the ambuscade; and, making a quick turn, notwithstanding the shouts, the motions, and the firing of the guards, they leaped clean over their redoubled ranks, and escaped into the woods.

When the firing ceased, the carriages all advanced towards the wood, and the company alighted to pay their compliments, and to view the game. We found part of it spread in two rows upon the field of battle, and the king, with his sons, surveying it. The game-keepers were returning loaded with such as had been mortally wounded, but had yet escaped to a considerable distance; and, as fast as they arrived, they deposited the spoil at the sovereign's feet. Having the curiosity to count the numbers, I found one hundred and forty-five deer, with one wild boar. Whilst thus engaged, I heard a murmur, and saw every one in motion. Directing my attention to the spot

to which all were pressing, I saw at a distance a little company coming with a boar tied neck and heels together, and slung upon a pole. As they approached; the monarch and his sons, arming themselves afresh, drew up in a line, and standing at a convenient distance, the burthen was deposited; the cords, one after another, were cut; and the poor crippled animal was assaying to move, when a well directed volley freed him from his fears.

The expence of that day's sport was reckoned at three hundred thousand reals, or, in sterling, three thousand pounds.

In the evening, the game, as usual, was all deposited in the room where the king took his supper, and there the family ambassadors attended to pay their compliments. By family ambassadors are understood those of Naples, Portugal, and France, who having more free access, and being expected to pay more minute attention, think it incumbent upon them to express their interest in every thing, which gives him pleasure, and not only congratulate him upon these great occasions, but every night, whilst he is at supper,

supper, make inquiries, and afterwards inform their friends, what the king has killed.

Mr. Liston, desirous of quitting the Escorial previous to the departure of the court, ordered a *Coche de Colleras* to be ready the day after the Batida. This precaution is taken by the foreign ministers to secure mules, because, when the court is in motion, no less than twenty thousand being required for their use, the whole country is laid under an arrest, and neither horse nor mule can be obtained for any other purpose.

In this little journey I was exceedingly diverted and surprised with the docility of the mules and the agility of their drivers. I had travelled all the way from Barcelona to Madrid in a *Coche de Colleras*, with seven mules, and both at that time, and on subsequent occasions, had been struck with the quickness of understanding in the mule, and of motion in the driver; but till this expedition, I had no idea to what extent it might be carried. The two coachmen sit upon the box, and, of the six mules, none but the two nearest have reins to guide them;

them ; the four leaders being perfectly at liberty, and governed only by the voice. Thus harnessed, they go upon the gallop the whole way, and when they come to any short turning, whether to the right or to the left, they instantly obey the word, and move all together, bending to it like a spring. As all must undergo tuition, and require frequently some correction ; should any one refuse the collar, or not keep up exactly with the rest, whether it be, for example, Coronela or Capitana ; the name pronounced with a degree of vehemence, rapidly in the three first syllables and slowly in the last, being sufficient to awaken attention, and to secure obedience, the ears, are raised, and the mule instantly exerts her strength. But, should there be any failure in obedience, one of the men springs furious from the box, quickly overtakes the offending mule, and thrashes her without mercy ; then, in the twinkling of an eye, leaps upon the box again, and calmly finishes the tale he had been telling his companion. In this journey I thought I had learnt the names of all the mules, yet one, which frequently occurred, created
some

some confusion, because I could not find, to which individual it belonged, nor could I distinctly make out the name itself. It sounded like *Caglioftra*, and led me to imagine that the animal was so named after the famous impostor Cagliostro, only suiting the termination to the sex, because the mules in harness are usually females. In a subsequent journey the whole difficulty vanished, and my high estimation of the mule, in point of sagacity, was confirmed. The word in question, when distinctly spoken, was *aquella otra*; that is, *you other also*; and then supposing Coronela and Capitana to be pairs, if the coachman had been calling to the former by name, *aquella otra* became applicable to the latter, and was equally efficacious as the smartest stroke of a long whip; but if he had been chiding Capitana, in that case, *aquella otra* acted as a stimulus to Coronela, and produced in her the most prompt obedience.

We did not leave the Escorial till four in the afternoon, and at half after seven arrived at the duke of Berwick's, where we had been engaged to spend the evening, having travelled seven leagues in about three hours and an half.

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M A D R I D.

BEING thus returned to the capital of Spain, where I spent the subsequent winter, it may not be improper to give some idea of the life a stranger leads here, with a few observations on the manners of the age.

Having been once introduced at court, you are at liberty to go as often as you please. I availed myself frequently of this privilege, both for the sake of viewing the paintings at my leisure, and for conversation, because at court is the general rendezvous, where men of distinction assemble every morning to pay their compliments to the several branches of the royal family, whilst they are at dinner, and to talk of what is passing in the world.

When the king gets into his coach, to go out, as usual, to his favourite amusement, the

the company retires; and, as the corps diplomatique is here remarkable for hospitality, a person well recommended is never at a loss for the most genteel society at all hours of the day. Gratitude requires that I should express my obligations, in this place, to those, not only of the foreign ministers, but others, who honoured me with their friendship and protection. I shall therefore take the liberty of describing briefly the kind of life I led whilst I was near the court.

Count Florida Blanca must certainly claim the first place in my remembrance; for although at Madrid he gave no entertainments, yet in the fitios he had always the goodness to admit me into the number of his guests, when he gave his weekly dinners. From our own minister I every where experienced, not merely that general protection, which he gives to all, and those minute attentions, for which he is universally admired, but the kindness, hospitality, and friendship of a brother. His house was at all times open to me, and when he gave a dinner to his friends, I never was forgotten.

My invitation to the duke de la Vauguion's was both general and special. Here the dinners were magnificent, the company numerous, and the conversation interesting; and here I dined more frequently, than at any other table in Madrid, attracted, however, neither by the magnificence of the entertainment, nor by the company which resorted to the house, so much as by the ease and elegance of the duke and dutchess, and the lovely simplicity of their children.

With the American, Russian, and Prussian ministers, I felt perfectly at home; and not much less so with those of Genoa and Venice. The other foreign ministers often honoured me with invitations, and I was always happy in accepting them.

Whenever I wished to cultivate the sciences, or to converse with men of letters, I frequented the more humble, but not less hospitable, tables of some native Spaniards, where I never failed to meet with a kind reception. With Izquierdo and Angulo, I increased my knowledge in mineralogy; and on whatever subject I was desirous of gaining information, I was sure to meet with satisfaction, either from them or from their

their friends. Ortega has been already mentioned as a botanist; D. Fr°. Bayer will always be remembered as a polite scholar; and D. Juan Bautista Muñoz will be celebrated as an historian, whenever he shall favour the public with his work on the conquest of America. Don Joseph Clavijo deserves the highest commendation, as a faithful and elegant translator, and as a man of general information. Besides these, I met with two brothers Fernandez, who have distinguished themselves in chemistry, and the Abbé Guevara, who excels in his knowledge of Spanish history, and political œconomy. With all these gentlemen I was upon a most friendly footing.

I dined frequently with the marquis Imperiali, a grandee of Spain, most deservedly admired for the goodness of his heart, and the softness of his manners; and once I had the honour to dine with the marquis de Ovieco, who is likewise a grandee.

This gentleman is pointed out as an example of an old Spaniard; and, if from one individual we might venture to form a general idea of a community, the politeness, probity,

probity, and true dignity, conspicuous in his whole deportment, must fill us with the highest reverence and esteem for the Spanish nation.

Like the French, the Spaniards drink their wine at dinner; but as soon as they have finished their desert, and taken coffee, they retire to their couch.

When they rise from the fiesta, they get into their carriages to parade up and down the parado, never going faster than a walk. As they move slowly on in one direction, they look into the coaches, which are returning in the other, and bow to their acquaintance every time they pass. On some high days I have counted four hundred coaches, and, on such occasions, it requires more than two hours to proceed one mile.

At the close of day, people say the usual prayer; then wish each other a good evening, and begin retiring to their houses, where they take their refresco of chocolate, with biscuits and a glass of water.

When you are properly introduced into a Spanish family, you are told at parting, "Now, Sir, you are master of this house;"
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but the extent of the grant must be judged of by your own natural sagacity ; because, such is the politeness of a Spaniard, that he makes use of this expression, when nothing more is meant than that you are at liberty to call upon him ; accordingly you see many retire before each meal, or drop in after it : but when it is taken in its full extent, the grant means dinner, refresco, supper, any or all, whenever it may suit you to partake of them.

Most families, especially the great, have their tertulla, or evening society for cards and conversation, after which, they, who are upon a footing of intimacy, stay and partake of a little supper. At these evening meetings you see the same faces from day to day. The society I chiefly frequented was at the dutchess of Berwick's ; but I went often to the dutchess de la Vauguion's, sometimes to the countess del Carpios, and too seldom I visited count Campomanes. Now and then, with a view to get an insight into the nature of society, I wandered away to other families, but not meeting any one, with whom I had been previously acquainted, besides the lady of the family, I was soon
weary,

weary, and could seldom prevail upon myself to prolong my stay.

Without any disparagement to the rest, I may venture to say, that the society at the dutchess of Berwick's was the most pleasing. It was frequented by the foreign ministers, and, not only were the dutchess and her sister, the princess of Stolberg, most engaging in their manners, but the ease and freedom, which every one enjoyed, made the time pass delightfully. The dutchess herself, and three of her friends, occupied a whist table, some separated themselves for conversation, and the princess commonly, for a part of the evening, amused herself with drawing, under the inspection and tuition of the Prussian minister, who, for taste and execution, is one of the first masters in that line. Others were engaged at the *piana forte*. For my part, I commonly took up my pencil, and profited by the lessons given to the princess. At eleven o'clock we sat down to an elegant supper, and about one in the morning I retired, having nearly two miles to walk. The duke generally came home to supper, but he

he seldom sat long before he retired to his bed.

At the dutchess de la Vauguion's the society was chiefly French. The amusements were cards, tricktrac, and chess, concluding with a supper.

At the countess del Carpio's all were Spaniards, excepting one Italian; and the amusement was some game at cards. The evening closed with a light supper. The count was commonly at home before ten, and, except when at the play-house, he spent his evenings in his family. He is a sensible man, and well informed; and the countess must give life to every society, where she is found. She is far from handsome; yet, from the sprightliness of her wit, and the softness of her manners, she is highly interesting, and the more so from her delicacy of constitution, and the weakness of her health.

Count Campomanes gives no suppers, and cards are seldom seen; but his conversation fills up the time, and renders all other species of amusement needless. The society is chiefly from the Asturias, where he was born.

Beside

Beside these quiet tertullas, all through the winter the dutchesses of Berwick and Vauguion gave balls once a week, and the countesses of Cogulludo and Peñafiel gave concerts and balls, attended with splendid side-boards of ices, cakes, and jellies. After the ball, every one retired to supper with his own society.

When you pay a visit to a lady, (for, wherever there is a lady in the family, the visit is to her) you neither knock at the door, nor ask any questions of the porter, but go straight forwards to the room where she usually receives her company, and there you seldom fail to find her, morning, noon, and night; in winter, sitting near the brazier, surrounded by her friends, unless when she is gone out to mass. The friends are mostly gentlemen, because ladies seldom visit in a familiar way; and, of the gentlemen thus assembled, one is commonly the *Cortejo*; I say commonly, because it is not universally the case. During the whole of my residence in Spain, I never heard of jealousy in a husband, nor could I ever learn, for certain, that such a thing existed; yet, in the conduct of many ladies, whether it proceeds

proceeds from the remains of delicacy, from a sense of propriety, or from fear, you may evidently see caution, circumspection, and reserve, when their husbands are in sight. Some have address enough to keep the cortejo in concealment; and this, in Spain, is attended with no great difficulty, because, when the ladies go to mass, they are so disguised, as not to be easily distinguished. Their dress upon that occasion is peculiar to the country. They all put on the *basquiña*, or black silk petticoat, and the *mantilla*, which serves the double purpose of a cloak and veil, so as completely, if required, to hide the face. Thus disguised, they are at perfect liberty to go where they please. But should they be attended by a servant, he is to be gained, and therefore he becomes little or no restraint. Besides this, every part of the house is so accessible by day, and the husband is so completely nobody at home, so seldom visible, or, if visible, so perfectly a stranger to those, who visit in his family, that the lover may easily escape unnoticed. This, however, will not always satisfy the Spanish ladies, who, being quick of sensibility, and remarkable

able for strong attachment, are miserable, when their cortejo is out of sight. He must be present every moment in the day, whether in private or public, in health or sickness, and must be every where invited to attend them. There have been recent examples of women, even of high fashion, who have shut themselves up for months, during the absence of their cortejos; and this, not merely from disgust, but to avoid giving them offence. If the lady is at home, he is at her side; when she walks out, she leans upon his arm; when she takes her seat at an assembly, an empty chair is always left for him; and if she joins in the country dances, it is commonly with him. As every lady dances two minuets at a ball, the first is with her cortejo, the second with a stranger; with the former, if she has any vivacity, she makes it visible, and if she can move with grace, it then appears; but with the latter she evidently shews, not indifference, but disgust; and seems to look upon her partner with disdain.

As soon as any lady marries, she is teased by numerous competitors for this distinguished favour, till she is fixed in her choice; when

when the unsuccessful candidates either retire, or submit to become, in future, what may be called cortejos of the brasier, without any pretensions beyond that of sitting round the embers to warm themselves in winter.

It is reckoned disgraceful to be fickle; yet innumerable instances are seen of ladies who often change their lovers. In this there is a natural progress; for it cannot be imagined, that women of superior understandings, early in life distinguished for delicacy of sentiment, for prudence, and for the elevation of their minds, should hastily arrive at the extreme, where passion triumphs, and where all regard to decency is lost. As for others, they soon finish the career. It is, however, humiliating to see some who appear to have been designed by nature to command the reverence of mankind, at last degraded, and sunk so low in the opinion of the world, as to be never mentioned but with contempt. These have changed so often, and have been so unfaithful to every engagement, that, universally despised, they end with having no cortejo.

I have observed, that jealousy is seldom, if ever, to be discovered in a husband ; but this cannot be said in favour of the new connection, because both parties are tormented by suspicion. This, it must be confessed, is natural ; for, as both are conscious that there is no other bond between them, but the precarious tie of mutual affection, each must tremble at the approach of any one, who might interrupt their union. Hence they are constantly engaged in watching each other's looks, and for want of confidence, renounce, in a great measure, the charms of social intercourse. Even in public, they seem to think themselves alone, abstracted and absorbed, attentive only to each other. He must not take notice of any other lady ; and if any gentleman would converse with her ; in a few minutes she appears confused and filled with fear, that she may have given offence. In all probability she has ; and should she be the first dutchess in the kingdom, and he only a non-commissioned officer in the army, she may be treated with personal indignity ; and we have heard of one who was dragged by the hair

hair about the room. But if, instead of giving, she should happen to have taken the offence, even the more delicate will fly like a tygres at his eyes, and beat him in the face till he is black and blue. It sometimes happens, that a lady becomes weary of her first choice, her fancy has fixed upon some new object, and she wishes to change ; but the former, whose vanity is flattered by the connection, is not willing to dissolve it. In lower life, this moment gives occasion to many of those assassinations, which abound in Spain ; but, in the higher classes, among whom the dagger is proscribed, the first possessor, if a man of spirit, maintains possession, and the lady dares not discard him, lest an equal combat should prove fatal to the man of her affections. In this contest the husband is out of sight, and tells for nothing.

In a catholic country, with such depravity of morals, it may be naturally inquired, what becomes of conscience, and where is discipline ? It is well known, that all are under obligation to confess, at least once a year, before they receive the eucharist. Every one is at liberty to choose his con-

fessor and priest; but before he leaves the altar, he takes a certificate that he has been there, and this he delivers to the curate of his own parish, under pain of excommunication, should he fail to do so. When, therefore, a married woman appears, year after year, before her confessor, to acknowledge that she has been, and still continues to be, living in adultery, how can he grant her absolution, or how can he be moderate in the penance he enjoins. Without penance, and unless the priest is satisfied that there is contrition, with full purpose of amendment, there can be no absolution; without absolution, no participation of the eucharist; and, in the neglect of this, excommunication follows. Yet, from the universal prevalence of this offence, we may be certain, that there must be some way of evading the rigour of the law. Nothing is more easy. As for the penance, it is imposed by those, who can have compassion on the frailties of mankind, and is therefore scarcely worthy to be mentioned. In many instances, it is ridiculous. Were any confessor severe, he would have few at his confessional. The absolution is commonly a
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more serious business ; because the penitent must not only testify contrition, but must give some token of amendment, by abstaining, at least for a season, from the commission of the crime, which is the subject-matter of confession. The first absolution may be easily obtained ; but when the offender comes, year after year, with the same confession, if he will obtain absolution, he must change his confessor ; and this practice is not only disgraceful, but sometimes ineffectual. Here, then, it is needful to adopt some new expedient. Two naturally present themselves : for, either some priest, destitute of principle, may be found, who, for certain considerations, will furnish billets ; or else, which is a prevailing practice at Madrid, the common prostitutes, confessing and receiving the holy sacrament in many churches, and collecting a multitude of billets, either sell, or give them to their friends. I have certificates before me. As these carry neither name nor signature, they are easily transferred. They are simply thus : *Comulgò en la Iglesia parroquial de San Martin de Madrid. Año de mil setecientos ochenta y seis.*

The principal cortejos in the great cities are the canons of the cathedrals ; but where the military reside, they take their choice, and leave the refuse for the church. In the country villages, the monks bear rule ; at least within their limits, and even in the cities, they set up their pretensions. As for the parochial clergy, one thing is certain, that many of them have families, and all are involved in the common censure. Even in the Asturias, my friend, the good bishop auxiliary of Oviedo, a man of high principle, yet of great humanity, severe only to himself, but compassionate to others, made it a rule, that none of his curates should have children in their families. This sacrifice, at least, he insisted they should make to decency. Beyond this he did not think it right to be too rigid in his enquiries. In short, during my residence in Spain, I never found one person inclined to vindicate the curates from the common charge ; but, at the same time, all, with united voices, bore testimony to the superior virtue of the bishops. Indeed, these venerable men, from all that I could hear, and from what I saw in the near approach, to which they graciously

ously admitted me, for purity, for piety, for zeal, can never be sufficiently admired; but too few of the clergy, either secular or regular, till they begin to look towards the mitre, seem to think it necessary, that they should imitate these bright examples, or aspire after such high perfections.

This universal depravity of morals, if I am not much mistaken, may be traced up to the celibacy of the clergy. It is true, the example of the court, since the accession of the present monarch, has given prevalence to practices which were before restrained, and made that honourable, which had been attended with disgrace; but the effect must always, in a measure, have been coeval with its cause. Nay, should we be inclined to blame, in the first instance, the Italians, who are said to have brought this practice into Spain, we should be obliged at last to trace it up to this mistaken principle, that *conjugal affection is inconsistent with the due discharge of the ministerial functions*. In conversing freely with the clergy on this subject, I never met any one, besides the archbishop of Toledo, who attempted to vindicate this principle; and

wherever I was, I had no difficulty in declaring war against it, because they do not consider it as an article of faith. The principle is absurd; yet upon it is founded the celibacy of the clergy, and from that, in my opinion, is derived the corruption of their morals. It has been common for protestants, who travel in a catholic country, to inveigh against the clergy, and to laugh at the people, as priest-ridden: such abuse is exceedingly illiberal. The priests themselves are to be pitied; but the law which binds them, the cruel law which requires, that they should offer violence to nature, or, more properly, the power which can abrogate that law, should bear the blame.

The purpose of the law is however frustrated; for nature is like a rapid river, which, checked in its progress, scorns restraint, and, when diverted from its proper course, either overflows the country, or forms new channels for itself. What then is gained? The parochial clergy, and these are the only clergy who should be suffered in a state, have their connections and their children, but not as they ought, in the
most

most honourable way. They are disgraced in the eyes of the people, who are taught by their example to live in the violation of the laws; and their children, for want of a proper education, are fitted only for the vilest employments in the community. How different is the picture, where marriage is allowed. The minister is like the father of his parish, and his wife performs the office of a mother; both set an example of virtue, and in every village teach the peasants how to value their domestic comfort. In the street, their children, commonly a numerous offspring, are distinguished by their look of health, by their cleanliness, and by the decency of their conduct; and, when sent out into the world, they form the most valuable members of society.

Should the Spanish government resolve to set the clergy free; more ample provision must be made for their maintenance, because at present it is scarcely sufficient for their own support; and this might be easily accomplished out of the vast revenues of the bishops, or by the suppression of some useless convents.

The

The play-houses in Madrid are not much frequented: the genius of the people does not assimilate with this sort of amusement. This will evidently appear by the receipts at the two theatres; for, taking the average between them in December, they each produce fifty pounds a night, but some nights less than twenty pounds; and, even in the Christmas week, not more than seventy-six. They have lately introduced the opera, but with little prospect of success; because most of the genteel people keep to their own societies, except when they attend the balls.

Few people here discover any love for the sciences. The cabinet of natural history is open to all the world, but it is not frequented; and although D. Ant^o. Fern. Solano, the royal professor of experimental philosophy, in point of clearness, elegance, and precision, may be reckoned among the first in Europe, and delivers his lectures gratis, yet nobody attends him. Books are little read; all who are not engaged in business, are occupied in their attendance on the ladies, with whom nothing of this kind is heard of.

In

In consequence of proper introductions, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the principal mansions in Madrid. The first, without exception, in point of magnificence, is the duke of Alba's. The principal front is to the south, and is two hundred feet in length, with eighty-five windows. The eastern and western fronts will be six hundred feet when finished; yet in this vast pile there is not one room suitable to the rank and fortune of its lord. The upper stories will be occupied by four hundred bed-chambers, which are scarcely sufficient for the family, considering that all the superannuated servants, with their wives and children, are to be lodged and pensioned there. The duke informed me, that he paid one hundred thousand reals, that is, one thousand pounds, a month, in wages only at Madrid.

For commodiousness and elegance, no house in Madrid is equal to the duke of Berwick's. Built on a declivity, with the principal front towards the west, it occupies, like other Spanish houses, the four sides of a square, yet is perfectly modern, both in style and furniture. You enter

ter a spacious hall, then, ascending a wide staircase, you find a suit of magnificent apartments, communicating all round, and, upon the same level with the garden to the south and to the east. From this circumstance, all the ground floor is kept exceedingly cool for a summer's residence, and the principal apartments are warm and comfortable in winter. Such an habitation would be ill suited for the accommodation of numerous domestics, with their widows and their children, descending by tradition from his ancestors; and therefore the duke, very wisely, is satisfied with giving them small pensions, and leaves them to provide a lodging for themselves.

He was so obliging as to let me see his accomptant's offices, in which he has introduced a system of œconomy little known in Spain. They consist, as usual, of four departments, but then in these he has only one accomptant general, with three clerks; one principal secretary, with three under him; one treasurer, and one keeper of archives, with an assistant. On all his estates he has similar establishments, but upon a smaller scale. His whole property produces,

duces, gross, one million eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand six hundred and eighty-three reals, and from this deducting three hundred and forty-one thousand nine hundred and eight, for the charge of management, it netts one million five hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-five reals, or £. 15,467 sterling.

The late duke of Arcos had more than three hundred people in his establishment at Madrid. The marquis of Peñafiel, who is married to the young dutchess of Benevente, and is at once duke of Ossuna, of Arcos, of Vejar, of Candia, &c. &c. with an income of about fifty thousand pounds sterling, employed, when I was at Madrid, twenty-nine accomptants, including his two secretaries, and I understand that he has since increased their number; besides these, he has an advocate, and a family physician, for whom, with his principal secretary and his treasurer, he keeps four carriages.

The duke of Medina Cœli has thirty accomptants in Madrid, besides vast establishments on his estates, more especially in Catalonia, most of which belongs to him,
and

and in the province of Andalusia, where he has extensive property. His son, the marquis de Cogolludo, who has a separate establishment, informed me, that he himself paid, only at Madrid, thirty thousand reals a month, or near four thousand pounds a year in stipends to his servants.

It is difficult to estimate what, with good management, would be the revenue of these great lords. Such a property as the duke of Alba's, producing under administration eighty thousand pounds a year; what would it not yield, if let out to substantial farmers? If, whilst they plough, and sow, and reap, and thrash, and sell, and eat, and drink, upon the duke's account, he receives such an income; what would it be if every inch of land were made productive, and if that produce were expended with oeconomy? With such vast possessions, well managed, he might live in splendor little inferior to the greatest sovereigns of Europe. But, instead of this, devoured by their servants, they are most of them in debt; and, under the feeling of poverty, live exceedingly retired, scarcely venturing

venturing at any time to give a dinner to their friends.

In many of their houses you find good pictures, collected by their ancestors; but, as for the present generation, they seem to have little taste for the polite arts: their time and attention appear to be lost in trifles. Among the houses where the works of the best masters are to be seen, the principal are those of Alba, Medina Cœli, Santiago, Infantado, and Santestevan. In the former is a very numerous and inestimable collection; and, among them, the portrait of the present duke, by Mengs; and the great duke of Alba, by Titian; a Venus, by Velazquez; a Holy Family, by Raphael; and the famous School of Love, by Correggio. In this beautiful picture, Venus and Mercury are teaching Cupid to read: it was sold in London, with other valuable pictures of Charles I. All these pictures were, when I saw them, crowded in the old mansion of the family, and therefore appeared to disadvantage; but, whenever they shall be cleaned and properly disposed, this will be evidently a most capital collection. All the other collections are in the highest preservation,

vation, except those of the late duke of Sarratestevan, now the property of his son-in-law, the marquis of Cogolludo, which, although inestimable, as being the works of the most ancient artists, are wholly neglected, and suffered to decay. The marquis was so polite as to attend me and the Prussian minister to see them, and witnessed our lamentations over them.

During my winter's residence at Madrid, I endeavoured to get some insight into the revenue, and, I trust, it will be found that my labour was not in vain: yet, after all my enquiries, I am inclined to think, that till some great financier, like Mr. Necker, shall arise in Spain, the confusion which reigns at present will continue to prevail in this department of the state.

Whilst the taxes were collected by farmers general, it was easy to know the rent they paid; but now that all is in administration, to come exactly at the produce and expenditure will be attended with some difficulty. Were the whole peninsula on the same footing, were all punctual in their payments, and were the disbursements from one common treasury, this research would be

be expedited ; but, as not one of these circumstances exists, we must take the materials as we find them, and do the best we can. I shall endeavour to give some idea both of the revenue and its expenditure, founded on authentic documents, procured from the foreign ministers, and compared with an official paper, with which I was favoured from the treasury. But first, it will be necessary to point out the various articles which yield revenue, and to explain the terms relating to finance, briefly premising such an historical relation as can be collected from Spanish writers on the subject.

The principal resources of the crown for supporting its dignity, were anciently found in the demesnes of the sovereign ; but when, during a minority, or a disputed succession, these had been plundered by the great nobility, he was obliged to solicit grants from the national assemblies. Thus it was with Alonzo II. who, after he had compelled some of his barons to restore the lands taken from himself and from his immediate predecessor during their infancy, finding these unequal to his wants, in the year

1342, he obtained from the cortes, then assembled at Burgos, an *alcavala*, or tax upon all property transferred, to defray his expences at the siege of Algeciras. Many cities had given him a fifth on the value of all commodities disposed of by sale or barter, but when granted by the states, the tax was fixed at ten per cent. and made universal over Castille. Whilst Peter, surnamed, but perhaps improperly, the Cruel, driven from his kingdom, was a fugitive in France, Henry, his natural brother, having been proclaimed king (A. D. 1361.) the cortes granted the *alcavala*, without any limitation with respect to time, as a mark of their strong attachment to the sovereign of their choice. But neither was this grant, nor the aid of France, sufficient to establish the usurper on the throne; for Peter, powerfully supported by Edward, prince of Wales, at the head of thirty thousand men, gave him battle, and compelled him to retire. When Peter had thus regained his sceptre, and began to meditate revenge against the pope, Urban V. who had excommunicated him; his holiness readily found means to appease the indignation of

of the offended monarch, by granting him the royal thirds, or two-ninths of all the tythes collected in Castille, under pretence of a croisade. Peter took the money, and increased his army, but not with the least intention of strengthening himself against the infidels. He had more formidable enemies at home, and to them he bent his whole attention; but in vain, for the prince of Wales having retired in disgust, his father, Edward III. was not inclined to continue his support. When, therefore, Henry appeared in the field once more, attended by most of the principal nobility, Peter fell. This was in the year 1369.

At the commencement of the succeeding century, Henry III. being obliged to assume the reigns of government, when he was aged fourteen, in order to prevent a civil war; on his accession to the throne he found his treasury exhausted, and whilst his great barons were rioting over the spoils, which they had seized during his minority, he himself was reduced to the last extremity of want. It is related of him, that returning one day from hunting, and asking

for something to eat, his steward told him plainly, that he had neither money nor credit to procure a joint of meat; "Then," said he, "take my cloak, and pawn it." He was not, however, satisfied with venting his indignation in empty words; but, roused by hunger, he obliged his nobles to restore the castles, and to renounce the pensions, which the regent had been compelled to grant them.

A. D. 1500, when the wealth of America began to flow into Spain, the internal revenue of the country ceased to be an object of attention, and the ministers of finance looked chiefly to the mines of Peru and Mexico for their supplies. But before one century had elapsed, the phantom vanished: the treasury, exhausted by incessant wars, had contracted a load of debt, such as the country was unable to support; and, to pay the expences of the invincible armada, new taxes were invented, under the denomination of *Millones*, so called, because the grant was for eight *millions* of ducats. (£.878,906. 5s.) To this the cortes, some years after, added twenty-four millions, to be collected in six years; of which, four and an half

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was imposed on salt, the other nineteen and an half on wine, oil, vinegar, and butcher's meat.

The country was not in a condition to be taxed. Rich in mines, but poor in money; exhausted by continued wars in Italy, in Flanders, and by emigrations to America; wanting, at the same time, every encouragement to industry at home; wretchedness so universally prevailed, that Dr. Moncada, in the year 1660, and Oforio, in 1686, reckoned more than three millions in Spain, who wore no shirts, because they could not afford to purchase linen. Money was at that period lent commonly for twenty, and even thirty, per cent.; and if remitted to Italy or Flanders, the discount was from fourteen to fifty per cent. being the difference of value between *vellon* or copper, in which the taxes were received, and gold or silver, in which remittances were made; and this heavy discount was independent of the exchange, which, as may be readily conceived, was very high. (Camp. E. P. Apend. 4. p. 274.) Such was the state of their finance in the reign of Philip IV. His successor, Charles II,

who died at the end of the seventeenth century, was once reduced to such distress, that, as appears, by a letter to be seen in his own hand writing, he solicited money from the council of Castille to pay the expences of his removal with his court to Aranjuez, where he was going for his health. The council answered, that, if upon examination, there was no other way to restore his health, they would grant the money.

We may readily imagine that the receipts at the treasury were inconsiderable, when we cast our eye upon their accounts, and, so late as 1714, see them wholly kept in maravedis, of which four are nearly equal to a farthing.

At the beginning of the present century, Philip V. succeeding to the crown of Spain, found only a revenue of ten million livres, or £.416,666, and no money in the treasury; but, in the superior abilities of the president Orry, he had inexhaustible resources. This great man, who accompanied the young prince from France, and became his minister, raised the revenue nearly to two millions sterling; and, at the
end

end of an expensive war, left the treasury not only free from debt, but with considerable sums in bank. In the year 1714 he retired.

Previous to this period, the taxes were farmed, and the people were grievously oppressed, not merely by the farmers general and by their judges, but by others who rented under them. The poor peasants were robbed and plundered with impunity, their cottages were sold, and they were left to perish, or when, unable to satisfy these harpies, they took refuge in a convent, their neighbours were obliged to make up the deficiency. To remedy these abuses, the new monarch thought it expedient to reunite many of the lesser farms; and, to prevent the vexation of his subjects, he recommended moderation to the farmers. His recommendation remained without effect. The farmers continued to nominate and to pay the judges, the judges continued to oppress the people, and the people continued to utter their complaints. When, however, the new minister who succeeded Orry reflected that, whilst the taxes continued to be farmed, the people must be

subject to oppression, at his entrance into office, in the year 1714, he put the whole revenue in administration; but, at the end of two years, he reluctantly consented to renew the farms.

After this short respite, when the galling yoke was laid upon their necks again, and the farmers were once more armed with power to oppress them, the people became impatient, and their clamours reached the throne; yet to little purpose for a season, because the necessities of the state were pleaded, and whilst Philip lived, the evil complained of was only palliated, but not removed.

A. D. 1746, on the accession of Ferdinand VI. D. Martin de Loynaz undertook to plead with him the cause of a much injured people, as D. Michael de Zavala had done with his father Philip, but with more effect; for his minister, the marquis de la Ensenada, wholly abolished the farms; and from that period they have never been restored. In consequence of this new regulation, the magistrates of all the cities and districts in the twenty-two provinces of Castille, administer the provincial rents, and
remit

remit the produce to Madrid, receiving six per cent. for their trouble in collecting.

To reduce the subject of taxation to a system, we might divide and subdivide, till our attention should be lost in classes, orders, genera, species, and varieties, but as this, in the present case, would not in the least contribute to clearness and precision, I choose rather to adopt an alphabetical arrangement.

Annats, called *Medias Annatas*, is a tax of half a year's revenue from the grandees and titular nobility on coming to their estates, or succeeding to any office. The marquis de Squilace was fond of this resource, and, since his time, near one thousand titles have been granted. From the clergy, the sovereigns of Spain received no annats, excepting only in America and in the conquered provinces, till the *concordat*, A. D. 1753, between Lambertini and Ferdinand VI; but since that time they are no longer sent to Rome. With these are included the *ecclesiastical months*, being one-twelfth of all benefices under three hundred ducats, or £.33 nearly, and this rated according to the ancient valuation. Since these

these grants, the pope, A. D. 1783, gave in reversion to the king one-third of all simple benefices, which are worth more than two hundred ducats per annum, to take place as fast as vacancies occur. For the remainder of the public revenue arising from the church, see also *excusado* and *effects of the camara*, with *subsidy*, from all which may be collected the increasing and almost inexhaustible resources of the crown.

Aposento, or *Casa de Aposento*. When Philip V. succeeded to the throne, his intention was to have made Seville the seat of his dominion; but the citizens of Madrid prevailed upon him to change this resolution, by offering him a sum of money, on condition that he should continue with them. This was afterwards changed for a rent-charge of one third on all the houses, with liberty of redemption at twenty-five years purchase.

Brandy is one of the royal monopolies. The king takes one-eighth of all the spirits as a tax, the rest he claims a right to purchase, paying for brandy twenty-two reals the arroba of twenty-eight pounds, and for spirit of wine, twenty-eight reals; the former

former he sells at sixty-four reals, the latter at one hundred. At this rate Madrid consumes ninety thousand arrobas, or about five thousand hogheads of brandy, besides eighteen thousand arrobas of spirit of wine. The cities agree upon a composition for these duties.

Cards are another of the royal monopolies.

Catalonia and Arragon. Under this article is comprehended the *catastro* of Catalonia with the equivalent for Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca.

Crusades. The bull of the crusades grants the same indulgences as were usually dispensed by the popes to those, who went to make a conquest of the Holy Land, extending these in the first instance to those, who should personally make war upon the infidels; in the second, to those who should send a deputy; and, in the last place, to such as should aid, by liberal contributions, the soldiers engaged in this holy war.

The indulgences are,

1°, To eat flesh on fast-days, with the consent of their physician and confessor, and,

and, even without their consent, to take eggs and milk.

2°, That for every day they fast voluntarily, and pray for union among christian princes, with victory against the infidels, they shall be excused fifteen years and fifteen forty hours of penance imposed upon, or in any manner due from them; and moreover, shall partake of all the prayers, alms, pilgrimages, even to Jerusalem, which shall be performed by the church-militant, or by any of its members.

3°, That, visiting five altars, or five times one altar, and praying as above, they shall obtain plenary indulgences for themselves, or for any of their departed friends, in whose favour they shall perform this.

4°, That, once in life, and once at the time of their decease, they may obtain from their confessor remission, even of those sins reserved for the pope, excepting heresy, and of other sins, as often as they confess.

5°, That, dying suddenly without confession, they shall obtain the same plenary indulgence

dulgence as if they died under contrition.

6°, That, visiting five altars, and praying as above, on the days specified in the calendar, of which there are eleven, they may, by their prayers, for each day, deliver a soul from purgatory.

7°, That, paying for two copies of the bull, a person may twice in one year enjoy all the indulgences, favours, and privileges mentioned above, and gain double the benefit he might claim on having purchased one.

For this bull the nobles pay about six shillings and four pence, the commons about two shillings and two pence in Arragon, but something less in the kingdom of Castille. Even the servants purchase these; and such is the demand, that they are reckoned to produce more than £.200,000 *per annum*. No confessor will grant absolution to any one, who has not this bull.

The *effects of the camera* arise from vacant benefices. By the concordat, A. D. 1753, the kings of Spain enjoy not only the nomination to ecclesiastical preferments, which formerly was in the popes, but they take
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the benefit of vacancies, and seize the spoils of the prelates, that is, their moveables, together with the effects of all clergymen dying intestate. These are called *espolios y vacantes*. The pope, indeed, names to fifty-two benefices, but then he must appoint Spaniards, who must not pay *cedulas bancarias*, or stipulated sums, to the apostolic see, nor high interest in lieu of a stipulated sum. Count Campomanes states the *espolios y vacantes*, at six millions of reals *per annum*.
 V. Industria Popular. p. 35.

Excusado. In every parish, the king chooses the best farm, whether for olives, corn, or vines, of which he takes the tythes both in Castille and Arragon. The clergy formerly agreed with him for this. Afterwards it was farmed by the *gremios*, or five united companies of Madrid, at twelve millions of reals; but, in the year 1778, the clergy had the grant at one third less. Most of them accepted the offer; but they, who thought themselves too poor to venture, refused, and these farms are let to the *gremios* at four millions. The *gremios* have been accused of having availed themselves of this bargain, to purchase corn in all the country

country villages, when it is cheap, to lodge it in their granaries, and then, selling it out again at a high price, to starve the people, and enrich themselves.

Extraordinary effects arise from seizures; from licenses to export goods in the register ships; and from the duty on the exportation of money. The amount is stated only at thirty-five millions; but sometimes it has been a hundred. This properly should go to the aduana, or custom-house.

Fines of the camera are levied by the council of Castille on magistrates transgressing.

The *Indian revenue* will be considered by itself. It amounts, in America, to near four millions and an half sterling; but although variously stated in the subsequent schedule as productive of revenue, it is doubted whether it yields a profit, or becomes a loss to Spain.

Lances. This tax is paid in lieu of military service, and is, for dukes, counts, and marquisses, two hundred ducats, or about £.22 for each title; but a grandee pays eight thousand reals. It is stiled, *Pecuniaris compensatio pro bastatis militibus.*

Lead

Lead is a royal monopoly, and must be most uncertain in its produce.

Manufactures of cloth and glass are stated as yielding a revenue. The glass is made at S. Ildefonso, and is chiefly for mirrors, because the glass for common use is imported into Spain. It is to be feared, that neither the glass, nor yet the cloth, yield any profit to the nation. It is impossible they should.

The *masterships* of the three orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, and of S. Iago, were granted by the pope to Ferdinand and Isabella, and settled in perpetuity on the sovereigns of Spain by Adrian, to express his gratitude to Charles for having raised him to the papacy. As grand master of these military orders, the king of Spain has the disposal of nearly two hundred military fiefs, amounting in the whole to the yearly value of fifteen millions of reals, which may be considered as part of the national revenue, although not carried to account. If these were properly improved and cultivated, they would be worth, as I am well informed, more than ten times as much.

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The *notaries*, each pay two hundred ducats on his admission.

The *pasture* of the masterships arises from extensive meadows belonging to the three great orders: and the pasture of the *serena* is from a tract of country in Estremadura, formerly considerable, but from the frequent grants made by the crown to the great nobility, now so far reduced as to yield only about five and twenty hundred pounds of our money; whereas, so late as the year 1722, Uztariz states the value at more than two millions and an half of reals, or about twenty-six thousand pounds *per annum*.

Posts and Couriers. These were formerly the private property of the counts d'Onate, grandees of Spain, but they now form one of the most valuable branches of revenue to the state. Mr. Wall established a regular post to America; but, before his time, the Spanish ambassador to the English court was instructed to procure, at London, information of all that was passing in Spanish America, and to transmit that information to his court.

The Propios and Arbitrios. Cities formerly levied taxes on waste lands granted to pri-

vate people, and on provisions, for the expence of their municipal government; but the king now takes two *per cent.* on the produce, for general use.

General Rents are the duties levied in the sea-ports.

The Provincial Rents are, 1°, the *Alcavalas* of ten *per cent.* on every thing sold or bartered, whether used in husbandry or manufactures, to be paid every time the property is transferred; together with four *per cent.* laid on, at subsequent periods, to the original tax. 2°, *Millones*; granted by the cortes, A. D. 1601, for six years, but ever since collected, being eight maravedis, or about a halfpenny a pound for butchers meat and suet sold in the market; and eight reals for every carcase, whether brought to market, or killed for the use of private families. Under this grant, wine, vinegar, and oil, pay one-eighth on the price, estimating wine at sixty-four maravedis the arroba, vinegar thirty-two, and oil at fifty. 3°, *Fiel medidor*, which is another duty on wine, vinegar, and oil, of four maravedis the arroba, granted, A. D. 1642. 4°, *The royal thirds*, or three ninths of the tithes, first granted to

to the Spanish monarchs, A. D. 1274. 5°, *The ordinary and extraordinary service*, granted A. D. 1580; a tax on every thing belonging to those, who are not noble, that is, *hidalgos*, or knights.

Ecclesiastics being free from the alcavala, the millones, and all municipal taxes, called *arbitrios*; they are refunded every year according to their consumption.

All these provincial rents, in the year 1778, produced one hundred and thirty millions of reals; yet, so late as the year 1745, they were farmed at ninety millions.

Rents of Madrid, called also *Efectos y sisas de Madrid*, and *Rentas de arrendamiento*, are the produce of the alcavala and millones of that city, and of five leagues round, farmed by the gremios.

Patrimonial rents arise from thirds, tithes, reserved rents, and lands let to farm, in Catalonia, Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca.

Rent of the priory of S. Juan, or S. John, is mentioned only by Uztariz, because it was afterwards granted to the infant Don Gabriel.

The salt-works yield a considerable revenue. These were formerly considered as

private property; but, in the year 1348, they were taken by Alonfo II; and, in 1564, Philip II. feized them as a part of his demefne. The chief of them are in Andalusia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Majorca. The falt-works of Mata, in the kingdom of Valencia, would eafily furnifh one million and an half fanegas, of about one hundred pounds weight, which, could they find a market, would, at twenty-two reals the fanega, make three hundred and thirty thousand pounds fterling *per annum*; but, by raifing the price, they have leffened the demand: fo that the whole amount of the kingdom is only about two thirds of what one work alone might furnifh.

Stamp-duties were introduced in 1637.

Subfidy is one *per cent.* granted by the pope to the kings of Spain, upon all ecclefiaftical rents in their dominions, for the war againft the infidels.

Saltpetre, sulphur, and gun-powder, fealing wax, quicksilver, and tobacco, are all royal monopolies. Of the latter I fhall fpeak more particularly, when I come to treat of Seville. It was granted by the cortes, A. D. 1336.

Wool.

Wool. In the year 1437, a tax was imposed on all wool in general, called *Servicio y montazgo*; but, to encourage the production, this was changed by Ferdinand VI. into a duty on *fine* wool exported. The coarse wool is kept at home.

In my schedule, the Indian revenue is stated by Uztariz at forty millions, and by count de Grepí, the imperial consul, at more than ten times as much. The former means the nett produce; the latter takes the gross amount. Mr. Liston's average of ten years agrees nearly with Uztariz; but Mr. Carmichael, the American envoy, states sixty millions. The fact, however, is, if we may believe those who are the best informed, that the Spanish colonies yield no direct revenue to the mother country. This being the case, I cannot conceive upon what authority, the Abbé Raynal states the clear revenue from America at thirty-four millions five hundred thousand livres, or, in reals vellon, at one hundred thirty-eight millions clear, besides eighty-two millions three hundred thirty-seven thousand eight hundred reals paid for duties in Europe.

Count de Grepí states the revenue in America as follows :

<u>Customs on European commodities, according to the</u>		<i>Reals Vellon.</i>
years 1785 and 1786, -		42,240,000
Alcavala on ditto, introduced		
A. D. 1591, - - -		54,120,000
Tobacco rent in New Spain		
and other provinces, introduced A. D. 1752, - -		100,000,000
Duties on gold and silver exported, - - -		60,000,000
Tribute of the Indians, -		40,000,000
Crusades, introduced A. D.		
1509, - - -		20,000,000
Quicksilver sold, - -		6,000,000
Stamp-duties, introduced A.		
D. 1641, - - -		20,000,000
Coinage, - - -		6,000,000
Acapulco trade, - -		10,000,000
Sale of the herb Mathé, -		10,000,000
Sale of paper on the king's		
account, - - -		10,000,000
Rents of the Jesuits, -		8,000,000
Cards, and other monopolies,		6,000,000

Rents of the Philippines, - 30,000,000

Tax on negroes, - - 4,000,000

R^s vellon 426,360,000

The alcavalas on American productions are omitted, as are also some other taxes, of which the count was not able to procure any information.

The following schedule will shew the produce of the taxes in the royal treasury. To reduce the reals to pounds sterling, drop the two last figures, because one pound is equal to one hundred reals vellon.

A Digest of the SPANISH REVENUE, taken from authentic Documents.

	Ustariz, 1722.	Official ac- count, 1762.	Count de Grepi 1774.	Zienowieff, 1778, by ap- proximation.	Carmichael, average of 5 years.	Lifton, average of 10 years, 1778.
Annats medias annatas	—	521,110	1,382,060	1,300,000	1,470,000	1,986,000
Apofento on houfes M	—	—	1,133,714	1,200,000	1,000,000	1,084,257
Brandy	—	—	4,524,817	4,525,000	1,500,000	400,233
Cards	—	289,863	1,493,367	1,500,000	1,000,000	32,109,481
Catalonia and Arragon	33,980,000	—	—	47,000,000	30,529,303	235,779
Coinage	—	—	—	—	140,000	11,052,209
Crufades	with fubfidy	17,293,740	17,782,380	20,000,000	16,000,000	340,237
Effects of the Camera	—	—	785,639	786,800	—	8,525,000
Excufado	with fubfidy	11,908,700	2,133,166	12,000,000	10,000,000	711,030
Extraordinaries	—	—	53,965,131	35,000,000	950,000	39,899,918
Fines of the camera	302,000	—	71,314	72,000	60,000,000	card to annats
Indian revenue	40,000,000	—	426,360,000	240,000,000	1,590,000	3,241,097
Lances	500,000	—	—	card to annats	450,000	4,192,000
Lead	—	1,226,900	1,217,886	—	—	6,213,686
Lottery	—	—	4,079,416	4,500,000	—	—
Manufacture of glafs, St. Ild.	—	—	1,230,326	—	—	—
— of cloth	—	—	1,758,692	—	—	—

Masterships of military orders	-	240,000	1,484,845	-	1,800,000	2,600,000	1,128,050
Notaries	-	-	-	-	61,688	-	-
Pasture of masterships	-	511,170	424,457	-	847,186	3,000,000	426,645
— of Serena	-	2,602,120	258,948	-	124,679	-	-
Posts	-	2,484,060	-	-	-	34,000,000	-
Powder and saltpetre	-	-	1,091,021	-	-	1,200,000	2,835,344
Public houses in Madrid	-	-	-	-	195,284	196,800	-
Proprios and Arbitrios	-	-	-	-	425,233	500,000	1,196,005
Rents general Aduana	-	25,023,444	55,944,822	-	48,030,602	31,949,102	70,584,604
— provincial	-	61,801,630	90,825,110	-	62,583,706	73,010,902	97,948,256
— of Madrid	-	2,352,960	-	-	6,417,551	5,500,000	6,538,856
— patrimonial	-	1,820,310	-	-	-	741,800	-
— of S. Juan	-	229,070	-	-	-	-	-
Salt works	-	17,000,000	23,633,251	-	19,937,194	20,749,208	26,508,384
Stamp duties	-	891,950	4,127,269	-	4,311,866	3,300,000	2,489,308
Subsidy	-	14,000,000	3,576,497	-	4,831,850	3,530,000	5,865,310
Sulphur	-	-	117,431	-	-	-	305,311
Tobacco	-	24,278,030	66,866,319	-	68,960,855	70,000,000	67,138,082
Wool	-	-	12,602,304	-	14,458,271	16,549,767	17,397,745
Sundries	-	4,930,000	-	-	-	3,615,000	6,912,008
	-	232,946,744	292,192,587	749,103,873	707,873,152	360,375,082	417,264,835

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Copy

Copy of an Official Paper, stating the Revenue as it stood A. D. 1768.

	Rents.	Perfons em- ployed.	Salaries.	Expences.	Nett produce in reals vellon.
Pastures of the Serena	280,977	12	17,100	4,929	258,948
Masterships of military orders	4,158,486	17	15,764	2,657,877	1,484,845
Tobacco	101,226,189	18,291	21,878,505	12,481,365	66,866,319
Rents, general and aggregate	67,259,482	4,433	6,540,248	4,744,412	55,944,822
Salt works	37,200,610	—	3,935,979	9,641,380	23,633,251
Pasture of masterships	458,847	16	30,220	4,170	424,457
Provincial rents	102,113,467	2,249	7,016,836	4,271,521	90,825,110
Lead duty	1,668,126	100	441,226	—	1,226,900
Cards	724,355	8	12,433	422,059	289,863
Powder and saltpetre	3,401,041	117	570,054	1,739,965	1,091,021
Sulphur	242,567	5	31,198	93,938	117,431
Bulls of cruzade	18,663,440	49	354,253	1,015,447	17,293,740
Stamp duties	5,545,745	104	330,530	1,087,946	4,127,269
Excusado	12,000,000	13	91,300	—	11,908,700
Subsidio	3,576,497	—	—	—	3,576,497
Medias annatas	633,610	14	112,500	—	521,110
Wool, and aggregate rents	14,998,284	223	584,505	1,811,475	12,602,304

I procured from the foreign ministers various statements of the expenditure, such as they transmitted to their several courts, but the one with which I was most satisfied, I had from D. Estevan Zienowieff, ambassador from Russia, confirmed by that of Mr. Liston, our own minister, on whose accuracy I could depend.

EXPENDITURE. 1778.

	Reals Vell.	
To royal <i>houshold</i> - - -	24,000,000	
To pensions to the princes - -	10,000,000	
To royal chapel - - -	2,000,000	
To pensions for superannuated serv ^{ts} -	3,000,000	
To wardrobe and jewellery - -	8,000,000	
To journies to the sitios - -	15,000,000	
To stables - - -	12,000,000	
To hunting, including damages -	18,000,000	
To charities and offering - -	5,000,000	
To buildings - - -	9,000,000	
To secret services of the court -	2,000,000	Reals Vellon.
		108,000,000
To <i>military</i> , for life guards - -	18,000,000	
To infantry, 45 regiments of 953 -	39,235,810	
To militia, 10,880 - - -	5,848,036	
To artillery, with officers, 3,050 -	4,439,008	
To invalids, 7,200 - - -	6,289,357	
To engineers - - -	1,400,000	
To cavalry, 14 regiments of 480 -	10,581,815	
To dragoons, 8 regiments of 480 -	5,763,882	
To general officers - - -	3,600,000	
To treasurers, commissaries, &c. -	10,344,282	
To fortifications - - -	12,000,000	
To clothing, forage, &c. - -	74,021,389	

To

To widows of officers and orphans	-	4,378,615	
To military hospitals	-	5,800,000	
To recruiting service in foreign countries	} - - -	700,000	
To department of council of war	-	1,000,000	
To minister of war and comis	-	800,000	
			204,202,194
To navy, for 64 ships of the line, and 47 frigates, 50,000 sailors, 12,096 marines	} - - -	-	100,000,000
To department of the <i>Indies</i>	-	-	8,000,000
To department of finance	-	-	4,500,000
To ditto of justice	-	-	1,100,000
To tribunals of justice	-	-	8,422,769
To foreign department for the minister and his comis	} - - -	1,140,000	
To ambassador at Rome	-	900,000	
Ditto at London	-	710,000	
Ditto at other courts	-	6,003,162	
To couriers, consuls, and secret service	} - - -	6,000,000	
			14,753,162
To china manufactory at Retiro	-	436,188	
To Goblin tapestry and Persian carpet	} - - -	397,100	
To painters, architects, and pensions	-	440,000	
To academy, cabinet, and library	-	900,000	
To hospitals	-	400,000	
To highways and canals	-	4,000,000	
To pensions to strangers, and incidents	} - - -	3,300,000	
			9,873,288
To interest of their debts, and liquidation	} - - -	-	30,000,000
Total reals vellon	-	-	488,851,413

In the preceding estimate, the china manufacture at the Buen Retiro is made debtor only four hundred and thirty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-eight reals; but, from the extent of the concern, and from a more minute account received from Mr. Carmichael, I am inclined to think that one million has been inadvertently omitted: it would then stand one million four hundred and thirty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-eight reals. Besides this mistake, if it be one, the expence of the glass manufacture is here overlooked, which Mr. Carmichael states at one million one hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and eighty-four; and the loss by the cloth manufactures, which is not stated. Yet, in the government returns, the manufactures of glass and cloth are reported to yield, on the average of ten years, six million two hundred and thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty-six reals profit.

From an attentive examination of all that I have been able to collect, I am persuaded that the revenue has not for many years been equal to the expenditure; and whilst

I was

I was at Oviedo, in the year 1786, the minister of the finance, in his circular letter sent through all the provinces, urged the collectors to diligence and strict attention in the collection of the taxes, because the expences of government were forty millions of reals more than the revenue. Since I quitted Spain, the revenue is increased, and from good authority I understand, that the last statement of Mr. Eden is five hundred millions, or five millions British, and that now they have a surplus of revenue to discharge former debts.

The debts are of various kinds; some ancient, others more recent. The former date their origin from the revolt of the Belgic provinces, A. D. 1566; and a conflict of more than three and forty years, during which, contracting a debt of two hundred million of dollars, Spain, without effect, attempted to reduce them, left such derangement in her finances, that she has ever since been crippled in all her operations, when at any time she hath found herself engaged in war. The country, exhausted by this long continued contest, cried universally for peace, and Philip III.

A. D.

A. D. 1609, although he would not acknowledge the sovereignty of the new republic, consented to a truce: but his successor, having other views, provoked hostilities, carried on a very expensive war, and before he consented to the peace of Munster, and to the independancy of the United Provinces, A. D. 1646, discovered that he had doubled the debt; which, therefore, amounted to about sixty millions of our money.

The principal creditors were the Genoese, and other foreign merchants, to whom, as security for payment of the principal with interest, government assigned certain portions of the revenue; which were denominated *juros*, because they passed like other property, either by descent or transfer.

These Genoese, and other foreign merchants, being, after the expulsion of the Jews, the chief farmers of the revenue, and being at the same time the principal creditors, are accused of innumerable frauds against the public, and this with both the connivance and participation of the clerks and comptrollers of the treasury. When their evil practices were brought to light, they

they sold their *juros* to the natives, to the gremios, to the convents, and to the principal nobility; yet frauds continued, and thus administered, the interest of the debt swallowed up the whole of the revenue.

In order, therefore, to redeem the *juros*; the tax called millones, or a species of excise already spoken of under the article of provincial rents, was granted by the cortes: yet the deficit continued. In consequence of this, many, whose ancestors had purchased *juros*, were happy to sell them at a loss of ninety per cent. whilst the Genoese and strangers, still farmers of the revenue, being purchasers, paid them back for rent to government at par.

These abuses did not escape the notice of the writers, who were most distinguished for their abilities and zeal: but government paid no attention to this branch of political economy. Much salutary advice was given, although to little purpose, and no step was taken to remedy this evil, till the dynasty was changed, and an heir of the house of Bourbon succeeded to the throne.

This monarch, Philip V. reduced the
interest,

interest, which had originally been five, ten, or even fifteen per cent. to three, which was the legal standard; but it was not till 1749, that a board was established and commissioners appointed to examine the *juros*, and to settle accounts with the proprietors. Campomanes Ed. Pop. Apend. i. 211—250. Ap. iv. 36—380.

At different periods considerable debts have been discharged, paying those proprietors who made the most advantageous offers to the state, and were willing to part with their interest in the revenue on the lowest terms: but at the same time the sum total of the debt, if we take into consideration the arrears of interest, has been constantly increasing.

To give a more distinct idea of this incumbrance, I shall, on the authority of Count Campomanes, state the debt for which the millones or excise duties of Madrid have been given as security, and from this instance we may form some judgment of the rest; observing here, as I have done frequently already, that by dropping the two last figures you convert the reals into pounds.

This debt, A. D. 1685, was 187,500,000 reals, the interest of which at five per cent. would have been 9,375,000 reals, but the excise duties of Madrid being farmed at 8,841,176 reals, there was consequently a deficit.

A. D. 1775. The debt, some		
portion of which bore in-		
terest at three, whilst the		
remainder by compact stood		
at two and a half per cent.		
was found to be increased		<i>Reals vellon.</i>
to, - - -	206,782,159	
Arrears of interest to cre-		
ditors, - - -	74,872,546	
Due from the Junta de Abas-		
tos to the Gremios, -	6,002,624	
D ^o — to the Junta de		
Sisas, - - -	4,987,220	
	292,644,549	
Deduct paid off with confide-		
rable voluntary loss to cre-		
ditors, - - -	5,643,546	
Total of the debt, -	287,001,003	
		From

From this statement it is visible that since the year 1685, including arrears of interest, this part of the public incumbrance, instead of being lessened, is increased nearly a hundred millions of reals, or one million sterling.

The second class of public debts are those contracted by the emperor Charles V. in his rash wars. These amounted, according to the abbé Raynal, to one thousand million of livres tournois; which, at twenty-four livres to the pound, is £. 41,666,666. But the interest of this being then more than the whole revenue, the state, in the year 1688, became bankrupt.

At the death of Charles II. and the accession of a new family, public credit was restored; and, in less than half a century, Philip V. availing himself of this reviving confidence, contracted fresh engagements, to the amount of near seven millions sterling. His successor, Ferdinand VI. consulted the most learned casuists in his empire upon this question, whether a sovereign is bound to pay the debts of the preceding monarch? This simple question was solemnly determined in the negative.

It being therefore settled, that the king should not discharge these engagements, Ferdinand accumulated treasure, and left his coffers well replenished. Charles III. found, according to the abbé Raynal, one hundred and sixty million of livres in his treasure on his accession, and formed the pious resolution of paying all his father's debts; but when he had expended half this sum, he consumed the remaining part in fruitless wars. Like his predecessors, to gain the good opinion of his subjects, he remitted all the arrears due for taxes, from the several provinces and cities of his empire, which to many of them was no small favour, because, excepting Galicia, most of them are very tardy in their payments.

Thus matters stood, till the Spaniards entered into the last war for the emancipation of America; when, feeling distress for want of money, the minister thought of trying how far he could avail himself of paper credit; an expedient little suited to the genius of a despotic government, and least of all to one, which had never shewn regard to public faith. He began with issuing nine million of dollars, in fifteen thousand

and notes of six hundred dollars each, bearing interest at four per cent. Of this transaction I shall have occasion to speak further, when I come to treat of the new bank, which has so far restored the credit of this paper, that, from being at twenty-four per cent. discount, it now bears a premium.

Government avows the emission of twenty-eight million seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred dollars, at three several periods during the war; but professes to have withdrawn one million two hundred thousand; so that, estimating the dollar at three shillings, the whole of this debt is £.4,139,985, and the annual interest of this £.165,599, a trifling incumbrance, when compared to the debts of France and England. The *juros* are not here to be carried to the account, because they are deducted out of the gross produce of the revenue, and the amount I have stated is only what it clears.

All good Spaniards have exclaimed against the operation of their taxes; and, in consequence of these expostulations, as far as relates to foreign trade, government has so

regulated the customs upon imports and exports, upon goods manufactured, and upon raw materials, as to encourage home productions; but then the alcavalas and millones operate so powerfully against these provisions, that the manufacturer cannot lift up his head, nor stand the competition with nations, who are blessed with a wiser system of finance.

The alcavala, with its four cientos, being a tax of fourteen per cent. on every thing that is sold or bartered, even for oxen and mules used in husbandry, for the raw materials used in manufactures, and for the commodity itself when sold, and this not once for all, but as often as the property is transferred, were this tax collected with rigour, it would create either a general stagnation or resistance, and, perhaps, some effectual remedy against it.

The operation of the millones is not more favourable to manufactures. This tax may be considered as an additional alcavala, under another name, confined wholly to provisions, and is collected with such rigour, that even private families are obliged to pay eight reals, or 1 s. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. for every
§
sheep

sheep or pig killed upon their own estate, and destined for their own consumption.

When the marquis de la Ensenada, prime minister to Ferdinand VI. turned his attention to this business, he saw clearly that Spain could never rise up into consideration under the pressure of such taxes, and therefore he conceived the idea of substituting in their place one contribution, to be settled according to every man's ability, the whole amount being equivalent to the sum antecedently collected. For this purpose he established a commission of thirty thousand persons, to make the proper investigations, and to carry his purpose into execution. Before he could accomplish this arduous undertaking, his master died; Charles III. succeeded to the throne; and he was permitted to retire. His successor, a man of singular abilities, never lost sight of so excellent a plan. This was the marquis of Squilace, who, having served with the king in Italy, as commissary general, attended him to Spain, became his minister, and, by his intrigues, soon contrived that every power in the state should centre in himself. This extraordinary man has been accused

of rapacity; but, however that may be, certain it is, that Spain, had he continued in office, would have had abundant reason to admire the wisdom of his government. To him the people of Madrid are indebted, not only for the cleanliness of its streets, but for their safety from assassins, because he made them lay aside their *capa* and their flouched hats, by which both their persons and their purposes had been effectually concealed. This innovation, however excellent, this violence offered to deep rooted prejudices, excited indignation; and, being accompanied by an accidental scarcity of corn, raised a storm, which nothing but his disgrace was able to allay. The sovereign himself felt the shock upon his throne, and fled with his favourite, but was soon prevailed upon to return, and to shew himself to his enraged people from the balcony, where the venerable count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of Mexico, on whose word they could depend, assured them that the object of their resentment was dismissed, and would never more return. The storm subsided; Squilace retired to Italy; and thus, in one moment of popular frenzy, all his well

well digested plans for the reformation of the finance, the encouragement of manufactures, and the renovation of the empire, were rendered ineffectual, and vanished with himself.

The commissioners who were appointed to take the value of all the land, industry, and commerce of the twenty-two provinces comprehended in the kingdom of Castille, after having made a deduction of one-third for accidents, estimated the remainder at two thousand one hundred and fifty-two millions one hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and sixty-four reals vellon, or a little more than one and twenty millions and an half sterling. Then having calculated the average of the provincial rents at one hundred and thirty-nine millions reals vellon, or £.1,390,000; to raise an equivalent for this sum, it was found necessary to impose $6\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{4}$ per cent. on lands, houses, industry, and commerce, including physicians, comedians, musicians, servants, labourers, and artists, not excepting the clergy, who are stated as possessing two-fifths of all the cultivated land. For this purpose an edict was published in the
year

year 1770; but unfortunately, like some others, it remained without effect. One provision in this edict shewed the wisdom of the head that formed it; for it was ordained that fertile land, although uncultivated, should pay the tax.

We have seen, that the paper money issued by government was depreciated to twenty-four per cent. when M. Cabarrus, by the institution of a national bank, restored the public credit, and saved the country. This gentleman is distinguished for singular abilities, for a clear head, and for a ready elocution. I have related, on what occasion I had first the happiness of meeting him. He did me then the honour to take notice of me, and ever after admitted me when he had leisure to entertain his friends.

The bank of S. Carlos is too singular in its history to be passed by in silence. It met with rough usage in its beginning, but the indefatigable application of the projector, supported by the good sense of count Florida Blanca, overcame all difficulties, and established it on a firm foundation, if we may call that firm, which the
breath

breath of a weak monarch, or one stroke of the pen of a wicked minister, can overthrow. At the first institution of the bank, it consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand shares, at two thousand reals each, constituting a capital of three millions sterling, with liberty to add annually three thousand shares, for thirty years, in order that there might not be one citizen of the Spanish empire excluded from this beneficial enterprize.

To create a confidence in the public, the directors were not to enter into any speculation, except were the king should give them a commission, for foreign and distant commerce, or to favour the agriculture and manufactures of the kingdom; and to remove all occasion of jealousy, the bank was to have *no exclusive privilege*, nor any monopoly; they were to receive at par, and thereby to procure circulation for the government paper, even at a time when it was from twenty to twenty-four per cent. discount.

By way of recompence, or, as it was called, equivalency, they were to make all contracts for the feeding and clothing of
the

the army, and for the supply of the navy, receiving ten per cent. commission for their trouble, and four per cent. per annum for all the money they should advance. This grant was for twenty years. Beside this, they were to have the *extraction*, or *the exclusive privilege* of exporting specie, collecting from the merchant four per cent. for the use of government, and three for the bank. They were to have one per cent. on all remittances from the court of Madrid to its ministers in foreign parts, and four per cent. for discounting bills. No entail was to be valid against the demands of the bank.

Notwithstanding such encouragements, the Spaniards had no confidence in this new establishment, but either locked up their money in strong chests, or solicited the gremios to take it in at a low interest, whilst in France and Switzerland, monied men came into the scheme with such avidity, that actions bore a premium of three hundred per cent. till suddenly a panic seized them, and the whole fabric was in danger of instant ruin and destruction.

To regain their confidence, the bank
bought

bought in many actions, and lent money at *four* per cent. to the stockholders on the security of their actions, engaging at the same time to pay them their dividend of *seven* per cent. or more, if it should be due. This strange manœuvre had the desired effect; for the proprietors in Paris, borrowing money of the bank to the amount of twenty millions of reals, for which they were charged only four, whilst, without any risk, they received nine per cent. their former eagerness returned, and the demand for actions was every where renewed.

It cannot be imagined that the bank long persevered in this strange practice. Such conduct must soon have stripped them of their capital; because every proprietor would have borrowed money to the full value of his actions, and the bank would have been annihilated. Therefore, at the fourth general meeting it was resolved, that no more than five hundred reals should be advanced on one action of two thousand.

The prosperous condition of this new establishment will appear from a statement of its annual gains.

A. D.		Reals vellon.	M ^s .
1783	The bank gained -	3,301,255	8
1784	- - -	17,137,622	22
1785	- - -	48,346,675	18
1786	- - -	20,473,093	13

In this last year, the actionists divided only seven per cent.; but in the preceding they had nine, besides investing twenty-one millions of reals in the new Philippine company, of which I shall hereafter treat. The reason of this difference in their profits, and the nature of their operations, will be clearly seen, by giving their reports to the proprietors at their annual meeting in the years 1785 and 1786.

1785.

	Reals.	M ^s .
By interest on government paper - - -	3,569,533	27
By discount of bills -	1,260,519	18
By interest on money advanced on actions -	594,106	23
D ^o — for America -	503,118	32
D ^o — Provisions of the army -	1,435,109	12
D ^o — Cadiz department	617,180	28
		By

By interest on money advanced on letters of exchange	-	-	Reals.	M ^s .
			1,411,904	5
By commission of one per cent. for the crown	-		253,164	14
D ^o — for America	-		197,450	3
D ^o — Cadiz	-	-	870,913	29
By extraction of specie, at three per cent.	-	-	11,883,656	23
By commission of ten per cent. on provisions	-		3,066,763	3
D ^o D ^o for <i>presidios</i>	-	-	407,024	32
D ^o D ^o of the navy	-	-	1,187,221	13
D ^o D ^o — timber	-	-	765,892	29
D ^o D ^o — iron	-	-	201,434	27
By increase of value on actions	-	-	21,552,840	—
			49,777,835	12
Deduct expences	-		1,431,159	28
Total gain	-		48,346,675	18
Deduct investment in Philippine company			21,000,000	—
Remains to be divided			27,346,675	18
				1786.

1786.

	Reals.	M ^s .
By interest on government paper - - - - -	936,920	—
By discount of bills, deducting brokerage -	2,513,857	32
By interest of money advanced on actions -	2,386,803	15
By operations of the bank at Cadiz - - - -	4,007,960	20
By letters of exchange for government - - - -	20,602	15
By commission of one per cent. for the crown -	247,264	28
D ^o — for America -	3,963	1
By extraction of specie at three per cent. - - -	10,234,299	22
By profit on purchase and sale of actions - - -	310,960	—
By increase of value on five thousand four hundred and fifty-three actions bought in - - - -	1,616,210	20
	22,278,842	17
Deduct charges of administration - - -	1,805,749	4
Remains to be divided	20,473,093	13
		By

By this statement it appears, that,

1st, The credit of the bank procured a ready circulation for the government paper; because the interest of that proportion, which, during the course of the year, was in the possession of the bank, sunk from more than three millions and an half to less than one million.

2^d, The discounting business increased to nearly double in the space of twelve months.

3^d, The interest for money advanced on actions, shews clearly, that the proprietors of one-fifth part of the whole capital had withdrawn their proportion; willing at the same time to take their chance for a dividend, at the sole risk of those, who, from rashness, from folly, or from inattention, neglected to follow their example.

4th, The extraction or exportation of specie sunk considerably. It was naturally to be expected that this should be the case. Previous to the institution of the bank, when government permitted the exportation of specie, it was under a duty of four per cent. the average produce of which was about three millions of reals; but when it

became the interest of the bank to watch the smuggler, the duties rose to sixteen millions. Merchants, however, when one road is stopped, exert their sagacity to find out some other; and, where such a commodity as silver is in question, they easily surmount the obstacles opposed to its exportation.

5th, One source of profit, producing more than five millions and an half in the year 1785, is, in the subsequent year, dried up. This matter requires to be explained.

The government being much distressed for money, had, as all spendthrifts are forced to do, borrowed on very disadvantageous terms, and then repented of the hard conditions, to which it had consented. The commission of ten per cent. appeared exorbitant; and the vouchers produced by the directors of the bank, for the articles they had purchased on account of the army and the navy, were not satisfactory to the minister of the finance. Besides these objections, the exhausted treasury was not in a condition to discharge its most reasonable obligations to the bank, and to pay those arrears which itself acknowledged to be just. All was

was in confusion; the minister continued muttering his threats, and the projector of the bank was loud in his expostulations. The latter suggested, with great propriety, that, in a country, where justice and the laws were silent, and where arbitrary power prevailed, the minister might for once plunder and seize, with a strong hand, the whole of their capital; but that, in such a case, he must not expect to be trusted a second time, and must therefore renounce for ever the idea of a bank. This argument was felt; and the minister determined, that the bank should have the contract for the army and the navy at the same prices as had been last given to the gremios, and that this new regulation should have a retrospect. The bargain was thus made more advantageous for the public; but how far this transaction was agreeable to justice, it was for the minister of the finance to say.

The gremios, or the five incorporated companies of Madrid, have a joint capital, as factors, to purchase all commodities, and sell to the retail dealers; the manufacturers being prohibited by law to sell by retail. This body, with a considerable capital of

its own, and borrowing as much, as it could employ, at two per cent. had all the contracts for the court, for the presidios, and for the army, both for food and clothing; but since the establishment of the bank, this monopoly has shifted hands; and government, instead of availing itself of the competition between the gremios and the bank, has delivered itself up to the latter, for the advancement of its credit.

But, as it would not be sufficient to grant beneficial contracts, without fulfilling its engagements, government agreed to give an assignment of the four per cent. duties on the extraction of silver for three years, unless the arrears to the bank should be previously discharged.

Upon coming thus to a mutual understanding, the directors of the bank agreed to advance money for making a canal from Guadarama, at the foot of the Sierra which divides the two Castilles, to Seville, and to superintend the work, receiving ten per cent. commission, and four per cent. per annum, for all the money they should expend.

I might proceed to give some idea of the Philippine company, in which the bank
has

has engaged two hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling, as I have already stated; but this I shall reserve till I come to Cadiz, when I shall have occasion to treat of commerce, and more especially of the trade carried on between the mother country and its colonies.

The population of Spain may now be ascertained, if we may depend on the recent returns to government. By these it appears, that the whole amounted, in the year 1787, to ten millions two hundred and sixty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty souls.

In this number are included,

Males, unmarried	-	-	2,926,229
Females, ditto	-	-	2,753,224
Married men	-	-	1,947,165
Married women	-	-	1,943,496
Widowers	-	-	235,778
Widows	-	-	462,258

Total population 10,268,150

Among these we may distinguish,

Parochial clergy, called curas,	-	16,689
Affistants, called tenientes curas,	-	5,771
Sacristans, or sextons,	-	10,873
	P 3	Acolitos,

Acolitos, to assist at the altar, -	5,503
Ordinados de patrimonio, having a patrimony of three reals a day, -	13,244
Ordinados de menores, with in- ferior ecclesiastical orders, -	10,774
Beneficiados, or canons of cathe- drals, or other beneficiaries, -	23,692
Monks - - - -	61,617
Nuns - - - -	32,500
Beatas - - - -	1,130
Syndics, to collect for the mendi- cants, - - - -	4,127
Inquisitors, - - - -	2,705

188,625

Men servants, - <i>Criados</i> , -	280,092
Day labourers, - <i>Jornaleros</i> , -	964,571
Peasants, - - <i>Labradores</i> , -	907,197
Artisans - - - -	270,989
Manufacturers - - - -	39,750
Merchants, - - - -	34,339
Knights, - - <i>Hidalgos</i> , -	480,589
Of these four hundred one thousand and forty are in the provinces of the Asturias, Biscay, Burgos, Galicia, and Leon.	

The

The cities, &c. according to the last returns.

Cities,	-	-	Ciudades	-	145
Borough towns,			Villas	-	4,572
Villages,	-	-	Lugares	-	12,732
Hamlets,	-	-	Aldeas	-	1,058
Granjas, Farm-houses,	-	-			815
Cotos redondos, Parks, or waste in-					
closed	-	-	-	-	611
Depopulated towns	-	-			1,511
Parishes	-	-	-	-	18,972
Convents	-	-	-	-	8,932

The proportion between the males and females, in several provinces, personally present at the time of taking the survey, will appear by the following Table:

	Unmarried		Married		Widowed	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Andalusia	219,770	191,141	132,589	131,445	20,666	42,542
Aragon	178,762	151,009	121,711	121,095	15,262	26,229
Asturias	94,503	101,799	63,886	64,166	7,410	14,069
Castille, Old	20,638	19,424	14,806	14,816	1,442	2,764
Catalonia	222,369	225,392	146,630	151,195	18,671	37,345
Galicia	364,313	394,633	243,568	243,568	33,321	60,789
Granada	187,305	176,907	120,484	121,389	14,243	32,662
Madrid	42,057	33,275	30,215	28,313	3,505	10,178
Minorca	7,763	7,213	5,441	5,441	384	1,486

Such

Such are the last returns to government; and, as in the year 1770, the population, by the same authority, was stated to be nine millions three hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and three, we might hastily conclude that Spain, in the course of seventeen years, had increased nearly one million of inhabitants. In like manner, observing, A. D. 1723, the number of souls to be seven millions six hundred and twenty-five thousand, we might infer, that since that period she was advanced in population more than two millions and an half. But the fact is, that the returns to government are not always just; and Ustariz assures us, that the people, to lessen their contributions of men and money, conceal their numbers, and make false returns. He detected many which were a fifth, and some one half, below the truth.

Now, if from the number above stated as the population of A. D. 1787, we deduct three hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and sixty-four, these being out of the peninsula, and inhabiting either the islands or the coast of Africa, we shall have for the remainder nine millions nine hundred

hundred and nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-six; and if we allow the area of Spain to be one hundred and forty-eight thousand four hundred and forty-eight square miles, we shall find sixty-seven persons nearly to a mile. This, if compared with the Russian empire, is respectable; but if with France, is below mediocrity. In the former they reckon five to a square mile; in the latter, one hundred and fifty-seven. England comes in between France and Spain; but Spain, if properly cultivated and well governed, might be the first in Europe, not excepting Holland, which to its wise and equitable laws is indebted for a population amounting to two hundred and seventy-two on a mile square. (*Vide* Necker and Zimmermann.) Bernardo Ward, who was in the employment of the Spanish government, allows that eighteen thousand square leagues of the richest land are left uncultivated, and that two millions of the people are unemployed. (*V. Proyecto Econ. A. D. 1750.*)

All are agreed that Spain, in more distant periods, was much better peopled than at present; and many have attempted to
assign

assign the cause of its depopulation; but as they commonly fix on one, and seldom think of more than two or three among those causes that are most obvious, it may be useful to trace the various circumstances, which have contributed to depress this once powerful nation, and to desolate, at least comparatively, one of the richest countries in Europe.

1st, In the year 1347, the *plague* broke out with more than common virulence at Almeria, and, during three years continuance, ravaged Spain to such an extent, that many cities were left almost without inhabitants; and throughout the whole peninsula the population was reduced to one-third of what it had been previous to that event. Of this plague Alfonso XI. died, whilst conducting the siege against Gibraltar. (Campomanes Industria popular, p. 168. Ponz Viage, tom 8, cap. 5. sect. 60.) Subsequent to this, the country has frequently been laid waste by pestilential fevers, introduced from Africa, or dating their origin from some preceding famine. A. D. 1649, more than two hundred thousand perished in the southern provinces; and

and scarcely ever is that part of the country free from putrid, intermittent, and contagious fevers. Such a vast extent of territory as this peninsula contains, without communication either by canals or roads, divided into a multitude of independent kingdoms, or, at a subsequent period, into provinces, each exacting heavy duties on the introduction of grain, must often have felt distress for want of bread. In fact, one province has been reduced to the extremity of famine, whilst others have been ruined by abundance. In Seville, A. D. 1652, wheat sold for 15s. 3d. the bushel; and A. D. 1657, so low as 1s. 4d. It was not till the year 1752, that by a wise regulation of the marquis de la Ensenada, corn was permitted to pass freely, even in Spanish vessels, from one province to another. (Camp. Educ. pop. Ap. part ii. p. 16.) The consequence of famine, as it is well known, is pestilence.

The common diet of the country predisposes the inhabitants to receive infection; and the practice of physicians, in prescribing venesection indiscriminately to all their patients, tends only to increase the evil.

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From all these concurring circumstances, few countries have sustained such losses by epidemical diseases, few have been so often ravaged by pestilential fevers.

2d, For more than seven centuries, from the year 714 to 1492, Spain was harassed by almost incessant struggles between warlike nations, in the heart of that divided country, contending for dominion; till the marriage of Ferdinand with Isabella had united the two crowns of Castille and Aragon, and the conquest of Granada put a period to the empire of the Moors.

3d, A. D. 1493, Columbus opened a new channel for their ambition, and gave beginning to endless *emigrations*, by the discovery of America.

Previous to this, the nobility were mostly resident on their estates, and when not engaged in war, gave themselves up to the management of their own concerns. Without accumulating treasures, many were able to conduct five or six thousand soldiers to the field; but when they had seen the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico, they became restless and impatient to obtain employments in those countries, and neglected the

the flower, yet more certain, means of obtaining wealth, by the improvement of their lands. The people in like manner hastened to America in such numbers, that the maritime provinces suffered severely by the loss.

Emigrations, if regular and in due proportion, neither weaken the parent state, nor sensibly diminish the remaining stock; but when they are sudden, and carried beyond certain bounds, they tend to weakness and to desolation. The former may be observed in the highlands of Scotland, in Switzerland, and in many parts of Germany; the latter was visible on the first discovery of America, and has ever since been felt. (*Vide Osorio discurso universal; addressed to Charles II. A. D. 1686.*)

4th, From the accession of Charles I. of Spain, but the Vth of Germany, (A. D. 1506) the nation was engaged in *war*, with short intervals, for more than two centuries, thereby exhausting the treasures of America, and wasting the blood of its most adventurous subjects, in Italy, in Germany, in Flanders, in Portugal, in France, only to gratify the vanity of its sovereigns, and to extend

the bounds of their unjust dominion. The immediate successors of Charles having Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, Franch Compté, and seventeen provinces in the low countries, beside Portugal, of which they acquired the sovereignty, A. D. 1580, and boundless territories in north and south America; this dispersed and most unwieldy empire, weak in proportion to its vast extent, consumed perpetually both men and money, without a possibility of solidly uniting such distant and discordant provinces under one command.

At war successively with all the powers of Europe, Spain enriched her enemies, and became poor herself; because, wherever she displayed her banners, she dispersed her treasures, and after the most splendid victories never failed to find herself exhausted of her strength. At the end of the first century subsequent to the acquisition of America, she was reduced to the sad necessity of debasing her coin, and so low in credit, that she gave more than thirty per cent. for money. This we have on the authority of the university of Toledo, as quoted
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by count C  mpomanes in his *Educacion popular*.

5th, The cause commonly assigned for the depopulation of the country, as if it were the only cause, is the *expulsion of the Moors*. (A. D. 1613.) To this may be added the previous expulsion of the Jews, to the number of eight hundred thousand, by Ferdinand and Isabella, who banished these infidels in token of gratitude to heaven for the conquest of Granada. This wound was grievous; but, before the nation had recovered strength, to banish nine hundred thousand of its most industrious subjects, was such a stroke, that to the present day it is severely felt. Under the best government, with the most propitious circumstances, it would require ages to retrieve so great a loss.

6th, Consequent to the expulsion of the Moors, their repeated and almost incessant *depredations* along the whole extent of coast, washed by the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, rendered the most fertile parts of Spain unsafe, and the produce exceedingly precarious. For the last century, the number of Spanish captives at Algiers, has usually been
about

about thirty thousand, and their ransom has been reckoned, one with another, at a thousand dollars, or one hundred and fifty pounds, amounting in the whole to four millions and an half sterling. With such a premium for the ransom of their captives, these pirates found ample supplies for the equipment of their gallies. (*V. Camp. Ap. i. 373.*) Government has recently settled a treaty with the Algerines; and in that, according to the opinion of count Campomanes, the ministers have shewn more discretion, than when they attempted to destroy that nest of pirates. His judgment is founded on this maxim, *divide et impera*: support the Algerines, that you may weaken the empire of Morocco.

7th, Among the desolating causes, must be reckoned their *change of government*, not on account of the blood of their best citizens, shed in the doubtful conflict, for that loss in time might be retrieved, but from the unremitted operation of a bad government. It must be confessed, that under despotism may accidentally be found wisdom and equity, with wealth and power; but, since the loss of liberty, these have not

been seen in Spain. In national assemblies, able leaders may arise to represent their grievances, and to seek redress. Had Spain enjoyed her cortes after light was diffused in Europe, when citizens began to ascertain their rights, and to shake off the chains of feudal tyranny, she would not so long have groaned under oppression.

Although some grievances, since the representation of count Campomanes, have been redressed, yet, by their long continuance, they tended to desolate the country, and therefore well deserve to be recorded. I shall select the most remarkable, and support them by quotations from his inestimable works. These relate to the revenue, the army, and the police.

No country ever invented a more ruinous system of finance, or one less friendly to manufactures and to commerce. The *alcavala*, with its *cientos*, being a tax of fourteen per cent. on all commodities, both on the raw materials, and on the same when manufactured, as often as the property changes hands, rated, not according to the prime cost, but to the selling price, and therefore constantly increasing, is almost

most sufficient of itself to create a general stagnation. This effect is evident in Castille; whilst in Catalonia and in the provinces of Arragon, where Philip V. exchanged this oppressive tax for the *equivalent*, industry prevails, and manufactures flourish. The *millones*, being a tax upon provisions, tends to increase the price of labor, and thereby indirectly proves an obstacle to foreign commerce.

With such powerful inducements to defraud the revenue, to what innumerable vexations, in order to prevent this, must the manufacturers and merchants have been subjected by government, more especially when the revenue was let to farmers, who, with their servants, were an hundred thousand. These watchful harpies were authorized to place their spies at the door of every shop, to examine the tradesman's books, to put their seal on his commodities, to demand the testimony of those, who were sent to purchase, with the attestation of the purchaser himself, and to require certificates from those, on whom the commodity was found. (*Vide* Camp. E. P. Ap. iv. p. 244.) The farmers of the

taxes were originally Jews; but the wealth to be acquired by plunder made the employment honourable. Their misconduct called loudly for redress, and this grievance is no longer found in Spain. But what shall we say, should a more enlightened nation, boasting of freedom, submit to similar oppressions?

That the vexations specified tended to depopulate the country must be evident; that they produced this effect, Osorio, as quoted by count Campomanes, assures us in his discourse on the grievances under which the nation laboured. He asserts, that in the villages, not one-third of the houses had escaped the rapacity of those who farmed the taxes; because, when nothing else remained to the miserable peasants, these merciless exactors seized their houses, and sold the materials to the first, who was inclined to purchase. This cause of depopulation was not removed till the year 1749. (*Vide* Camp. E. P. Ap. i. p. 347.)

Among a great variety of causes producing this effect, and itself the genuine offspring of bad government, is the *want of a free market*. Under the idea of preventing

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ing imposition, the magistrate authorized to intervene between the buyer and the seller fixed the price of all commodities, even of corn and manufactures, to the sole advantage of alguaziles, regidors, and escrivanos, but to the destruction of agriculture, and to the discouragement of industry. This evil was introduced by Philip II. when the gold and silver of America had lessened the value of money in the mother country; or as the people in general complained, when every commodity was grown extravagantly dear. It was, however, confined to the kingdom of Castille; and, consequently the provinces of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, being free, were both more populous and better cultivated than it, although their soil, excepting Valencia, is far from rich. (*Vide* Camp. E. P. Ap. i. p. 240—254. 365. 418.) As to manufactures, it was in the reign of Alonzo el Sebio, A. D. 1256, that the magistrates first interfered to fix the price, and this they did without regarding the goodness of the materials or the value of the work. The consequence of such a regulation is obvious. (*Vide* Camp. E. P. Ap. iv. p. 64.)

With the intention of rendering provisions cheap, government, till the year 1765, *prohibited the exportation of grain*. For the honour of Spain we may observe, that nine years subsequent to this, M. Turgot prevailed on Lewis XVI. to give similar liberty to France, and with the same good effect. The progress of agriculture, the vast increase in the quantity of grain, and the diminution in its price, in consequence of this wise regulation, and of the freedom granted to the farmer for the sale of his commodity, are sufficient to evince how much population must have been retarded by the previous restraint.

The ignorance and jealousy of government were not confined to corn, for with the same contracted views, and influenced by the same short sighted policy, the kings of Spain effectually discouraged, and continue to discourage, *the breed of horses*, which, if not restrained, would prove a never failing source of wealth. The very means adopted to increase the breed have had the opposite effect. To confine the market, and thereby to sink the price; to oblige all the farmers to register their horses, with

with the age, the colour, and the size; to exact from them a strict account, and to subject them to heavy fines; to harass them with unseasonable visitors, and to leave them at the mercy of low men in office; surely this can never be the way to promote their industry, and to encourage them in producing the commodity so much to be desired. The intention of the king is to mount his cavalry at a small expence; but should the breeder continue subject to such vexations, the race will fail, and mules will supply their place. Let the ports be open; extend the market; give freedom to commerce; and leave the farmers unmolested to pursue their various operations; let their industry have free scope to move in; let them be protected in their persons and their property; then, let the magistrate retire.

From the same mistaken policy, *dealers*, or *jobbers*, in corn and cattle, have been discouraged, under an idea that they raised the price. This error, however, has not been confined to Spain; for in the English statutes are to be found provisions against regrators, yet, without middle men, the attention of the farmer would be distracted, and for want of a ready sale for his commodities,

he would have neither time nor capital to conduct his business to advantage. These middle men create dispatch, and eventually increase productions. But from a strange inconsistency of principle, whilst middle men, as dealers in corn and cattle, were discouraged, manufacturers were forbid to sell by retail, lest they should injure the commerce of the gremios. (*Vide* Camp. E. P.)

Previous to the year 1750, the *fisheries* were much discouraged by the rapacity of the corregidores, alcaldes, regidores, and other magistrates, who plundered the fishermen of their best fish, as a recompense for their trouble in making the assize, and then ruined them by fixing the price too low. These grievances I shall state in treating of the fishery at Carthagena.

Since the accession of the present family, sound policy has led them to establish barracks; but, previous to the commencement of this century, the military were lodged in the houses of the peasants. In the year 1686, Osorio represented that quartering the soldiers had destroyed most of the villages in Spain. This may be readily conceived, when we are informed that the military stipend was far from being regularly paid.

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The state of the *police* I shall give when describing Cadiz and Malaga. Here it may be sufficient to observe, that as the regidors have purchased their office, they must naturally seek to indemnify themselves; and although deputies and syndics, with equal authority, are now elected by the people, it is only since the year 1766, that this palliative expedient has been provided.

The people, thus every where plundered and oppressed, could not increase and multiply, as they would have done under a free and equitable government.

8th, *Convents* are by no means favourable to population. These in Spain are eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-two, containing more than ninety-four thousand monks and nuns; but the persons bound to celibacy by vows are not much below two hundred thousand. Yet this superabundance of the drones may be considered not merely as the cause, but as the effect of their declension, being much increased by the stagnation of their trade. The university of Toledo, in a memorial delivered to Philip III. at the beginning of the seventeenth

teenth century, complains, that not one-tenth of the usual number of marriages took place; and particularly states, that whereas, whilst commerce flourished, it had been said, *Quien ha oficio, ha beneficio*, *He who has a trade, has the best benefice*; now all parents, dreading the poverty and wretchedness attached to trade, were inclined to breed up their children nuns, monks, and parish priests, or even exposed them to perish in their infancy. Some of the best Spanish writers on political economy have declared against multiplying convents, and the cortes, with the consent of Philip IV. determined, about the middle of the last century, that no more convents should be built; but as general opinion is more powerful than law, this resolution of the cortes remained without effect. Once established, they are not easily suppressed, because of innumerable masses, which must be daily said by compact for the souls in purgatory.

9th, Numerous *festivals* tend to depopulate a country. Benedict XIV. lessened the number in his temporal estates, and recommended a similar reduction to his clergy.

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In consequence of this, in the diocese of Toledo, they have now no more than ninety-three general festivals, not including the special festivals of each parish, and of the religious houses, which, in every city swell the number of unproductive days. If to these we add the occasional bull feasts, and the Mondays, claimed both by apprentices and journeymen for their own diversion, we shall have reduced considerably the number of working days; but even then we must be obliged to make a fresh reduction from their time, because the working hours are seldom more than six; infomuch that all the unprofitable hours being carried to account, not more than one-third, or perhaps one-fourth, remains for labour. How then is it possible to stand a competition in manufactures with more industrious nations? (*V. Camp. E. P. p. 274.*)

10th, *Prevalence of pasture* tends to depopulate a country. Grazing and tillage should ever be united. The same quantity of land, which, in wild pasture, would require the labour of one family, if tilled, would give employment to twenty, or even twice that number. In Spain, ever since
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the year 1350, at which period the plague had carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants, the laws of the Mesta have set at variance the ploughman and the shepherd, preventing each from deriving the least advantage from the other, infomuch that five millions of sheep, under the sanction of a peculiar code, not only fail to enrich the lands on which they feed, but effectually prevent its cultivation. Independent of the Merino flock, many of the great landlords have suffered villages to go to ruin, and have let their estates to graziers.

11th, The want of an *Agrarian Law*. Previous to the recovery of the southern provinces from the dominion of the Moors, the distracted and divided state of the peninsula made it necessary for the peasants to seek refuge in the cities, or at least to associate in villages for their mutual defence. For this reason, independent farms, detached and distant from a town, are seldom, if ever, seen in the southern provinces of Spain. The cities, towns, and villages, were built on the most fertile spots, and between many of them intervened vast tracts of land, little susceptible of cultivation. When the plague
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of the year 1347 had spread desolation through the country, many towns and villages were suffered to go to ruin and decay, whereby the distance between those that survived was considerably increased. To this event has been attributed the extensive territories of innumerable towns, many of which are from ten to fifteen miles diameter, and therefore too far distant from the habitation of the farmer to admit of cultivation. Adjoining to the village you observe vines, olives, figs, and grain ; all beyond is desolate and waste.

Previous to the conquest, when the christian princes were inclined to make war upon the infidels, they invited the great nobility of other countries, and their own feudal lords, to join them. Many of these could bring into the field five or six thousand vassals, and were bound to maintain them, at least to the frontiers, at their own expence. But then, as most of these were little less than independent sovereigns, the prince was obliged to court them ; and, if he would allure them to his standard, it was by the hope of making conquests for themselves that he prevailed on them to follow

follow him. Hence they acquired by arms, cities, towns, and villages, with extensive districts.

In succeeding periods, the great nobility, taking advantage of their sovereign during his minority, when either contending for the regency themselves, or embarrassing the regent, they extorted considerable grants from the king's demesne, consisting of cities, towns, and villages, with the adjacent territories; all which they transmitted to their posterity.

By intermarriages, many of these vast possessions have been united; insomuch that three great lords, the dukes of Osuna, Alba, and Medina Cœli, cover almost the whole province of Andalusia; and the last of these, claims by inheritance, the greatest part of Catalonia.

Such vast possessions passing by entail, are far from being friendly to population, more especially as the proprietor never resides on his estates, and, being often embarrassed in his circumstances, has little inclination, and less ability, to make improvements for his heir.

12th, To this want of yeomanry, must be

added, the *defect of substantial tenants*. I have already remarked, when speaking of the court, that most of the great estates are in administration, that is, cultivated by stewards on the lords account, and therefore not productive. If tenanted, the rent commonly is paid in kind; and this, when, from bad crops, corn is dear, ruins the farmer. In such circumstances, it is difficult to raise a tenantry with sufficient capitals to stock a farm. In tillage, it is found, that, to occupy an estate to advantage requires a capital more than equal to five times the rent. But in Spain, few such are to be found. Should they, however, perfect what the wisest among them, with count Camomanes for their guide, have been long attempting, an agrarian law; should they, as proposed, allow every man to cultivate what quantity he pleases of waste land, without a special grant from the proprietor, and to enjoy it as a copyhold, charged with a quit-rent equal to the value, previous to this improvement; in process of time they will raise up both a yeomanry and tenantry, and, in consequence, a more numerous population.

13th, *Royal Manufactures and Monopolies* have a baneful influence on population ; for, as no private adventurers can stand the competition with their sovereign, where he is the great monopolist, trade will never prosper. The Spanish monarch is a manufacturer of

Broad cloth, at Guadalajara and Brihuega ;

China, at the palace of the Buen Retiro ;

Cards, at Madrid and Malaga ;

Glass, at S. Ildefonso ;

Paper, in Segovia ;

Pottery, at Talavera ;

Salt Petre, Madrid, and various other places ;

Stockings, at Valdemoro ;

Swords, at Toledo ;

Tapestry, at Madrid ;

Tissue, at Talavera.

He has the monopoly of brandy, cards, gun-powder, lead, quicksilver, sealing wax, salts, sulphur, and tobacco.

14th, To this may be added, as a cause of depopulation, the *national prejudice* against trade. Whilst the Jews were merchants, and the mechanic arts were left, either to the Moors, or to the vilest of the people, the grandees or knights were ambitious
only

Only of military fame. After the conquest of Granada, the Moors continued to be the principal manufacturers, and excelled in the cultivation of their lands. When these, with the Jews, were banished, a void was left, which the high-spirited Spaniard was not inclined to fill. Trained for many centuries to the exercise of arms, and regarding such mean occupations with disdain, his aversion was increased by his hatred and contempt for those, whom he had been accustomed to see engaged in these employments. He had been early taught to consider trade as dishonourable; and whether he frequented the theatre, or listened to the discourses of the pulpit orators, he could not fail to be confirmed in his ideas. Even in the present day, many, who boast their descent from noble ancestors, had rather starve than work, more especially at those trades by which, according to the laws, they would be degraded, and forfeit their nobility.

We must not imagine that the Spaniards are naturally indolent; they are remarkable for activity, capable of strenuous exertions, and patient of fatigue: if, therefore,

unemployed, this must be attributed to other causes, of which, respecting some occupations, national prejudice is one.

15th, Among the desolating causes, I must be allowed to mention one, on the testimony of a native Spaniard, because I never had occasion to observe the least trace of it myself. It is acknowledged by count Campomanes, that *the national prejudice was against the settlement of foreigners in Spain.* A. D. 1623, strangers were allowed to be naturalized, and either to take farms or to practise their mechanic arts, provided they settled at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea coast; but as few, if any strangers availed themselves of this indulgence, his present majesty, in the year 1772, extended this privilege to merchants, permitting them to be established in any of the ports. Certain it is, that, for want of intercourse with other nations, the native Spaniards, being chiefly resident at home, excepting those who migrate to America, and few strangers even passing through the country; all the arts, sciences, and manufactures have been at a stand, and appear to be at least a century behind the rest of Europe.

Europe. In the year 1655, don Francisco Martinez de Mata, an author of high reputation, in his seventh discourse on the depopulation of Spain, complained, that a hundred and twenty thousand strangers, working cheaper, and apparently better, than the natives, were allowed to spread over the country; entering it poor, but by their diligence acquiring wealth, and returning home loaded with gold. He asserts, that they carried out with them annually more than eight hundred thousand pounds, or seven million three hundred and twenty thousand ducats; but he forgets to mention, that these men only filled up the vacancy recently made by the expulsion of the Moors, and followed the occupations to which the high bred Spaniard would not submit. He recommends giving alms to strangers, but not employment; and, to confirm his advice, relates the history of a Spanish farrier, as an example to be followed. This man went to Paris, with a view to work at his trade, but being threatened with death, should he there venture to exercise his art, he retired to Bourdeaux, where he hoped to find a more hospitable

reception; but there they cut off one arm, that he might no longer work, and rob the native farrier of bread. (Camp. E. P. A. 4. p. 184.)

16th, *Persecution* is a powerful cause of depopulation; and, like the national prejudice against strangers, prevents many useful subjects from being added to the state. It were endless to enumerate the advantages a community derives from toleration. As without an established religion the poor would be neglected, and, in the villages at least, would be in danger of losing all knowledge of a deity; so, without a toleration, there could be no competition, and therefore little scope for emulation, without which zeal would be apt to languish, morals to decay; and thus in process of time, the most important truths would, by the many, be totally forgotten.

The good bishop of Oviedo, lamenting over the manners of the age, comforted himself at last under a persuasion, that, through the activity and zeal of the inquisitors, they had no infidels in Spain. For my part, I am persuaded, that the torpid infidelity of ignorance prevails more in Spain,

Spain, than the active infidelity of science in either England or France.

All the enlightened nations of Europe have at last discovered the folly of persecution, and seem to be persuaded, that the resort of strangers, with their wealth, their knowledge, their industry, and arts, will bear proportion to the extent of toleration. It is now generally felt, that these contribute to enrich, and, by the increase of people, to make most powerful the country, in which the citizens, without distinction, enjoy most civil and religious liberty.

17th, *The gold and silver of America*, instead of animating the country and promoting industry, instead of giving life and vigour to the whole community, by the increase of arts, of manufactures, and of commerce, had an opposite effect, and produced in the event, weakness, poverty, and depopulation. The wealth which proceeds from industry resembles the copious yet tranquil stream, which, passing silent and almost invisible, enriches the whole extent of country through which it flows: but the treasures of the new world, like a swelling torrent, were seen, were heard,

were felt, and were admired; yet their first operation was to desolate and lay waste the spot on which they fell. The shock was sudden; the contrast was too great. Spain overflowed with specie, whilst other nations were comparatively poor in the extreme. The price of labour, of provisions, and of manufactures bore proportion to the quantity of circulating cash. The consequence is obvious: in the poorer countries industry advanced, in the more wealthy it declined; in the more wealthy all the manufactures went to ruin and decay, every thing was imported from abroad, and, till the beginning of the present century, Spain purchased all her men of war, with masts and cordage, from Holland, rigging from France, ammunition from England, and even her gallies from the Genoese. V. Martinez de Mata, Discurso 8.

Combined with all the forementioned causes of depopulation, this became more fatal to the prosperity of Spain than it would have been, had circumstances been more propitious. Had the country been populous and well governed, had peace been cultivated, and had the manufactures flourished,

flourished, had the convents been recently destroyed, and the festivals abolished, had emigration ceased, and had strangers resorted to settle in the country with their industry and arts; this wealth would have given new vigour to the nation. But, instead of this benign effect, numerous convents were endowed, the drones were multiplied, and this sudden repletion produced a torpor, ending in a political disease, similar to that which, in like circumstances, affects the human frame. Even in the present day, specie being about six per cent. less valuable in Spain than it is in other nations, operates precisely in the same proportion against her manufactures and her population.

18th, Among the causes of depopulation count Campomanes reckons *corporations* with exclusive privileges, checking the industrious, and restraining them from the exercise of those mechanic arts for which they are qualified, and to which they feel themselves inclined, and establishing monopolies, to the prejudice of the community.

In Spain these are certainly injurious to a degree scarcely to be conceived by those

who have not been witnesses to similar abuses. In all the trading companies or *gremios*, religious fraternities are formed, some incorporated by royal authority and letters patent, others by connivance of the crown, but both in violation of the laws.

Every fraternity is governed by a mayor and court of aldermen, who make laws, sit in judgment on offenders, and claim in many cases exemption from the common tribunals of the country. None but the members of these communities may exercise mechanic arts, or be concerned in trade; and to be admitted as a member is both attended with a heavy fine, and entails upon each individual a constant annual expence.

This, however, is not the greatest evil, for the mayor and officers, during their year of service, not only neglect their own affairs, but from vanity and ostentation run into expences, such as either ruin their families, or at least straiten them exceedingly in trade.

These corporations, being established in the cities, banish, by their oppressive laws, all the mechanic arts from towns and villages.

lages. In the cities likewise they tend only to monopoly, by limiting the numbers in every branch of business, and fixing within unreasonable bounds the residence of those who are concerned in trade. This they do either by assigning the distance between shop and shop, under pretence that two shops vending the same commodities must not be so near together as to interfere, or by assembling all the mechanics of the same profession, such as silversmiths, and confining them to one street or quarter of the city, under the plausible pretext that thus the proper magistrate may with ease pay attention to their work, and see that the due standard be observed.

In many cases the various *gremios* bear hard upon each other. Thus, for instance, the carpenter must not employ his industry on mahogany, or any other wood but deal, nor must he invade the province of the turner. The turner must confine his ingenuity and labour to soft wood, and must not presume to touch either ivory or metals, even though he should be reduced to poverty for want of work. The wheeler, in similar distress, must not, however qualified, extend

extend his operations beyond the appointed bounds, so as to encroach on the business of the coachmaker, who is equally restrained from either making or mending either cart or waggon wheels. The barber may shave, draw teeth, and bleed, but he must not fill up his leisure time with making wigs. As mechanics are obliged to keep exactly each to his several line, so must shopkeepers confine themselves to their proper articles in trade, and under no pretence must the manufacturer presume to open magazines, that he may sell by retail.

But neither are these abuses the only evils which call for reformation. Many corporations have been impertinently meddling, and have absurdly bound the hands of the manufacturer by regulations with respect to the conduct of his business, and the productions of his art, such as being too rigidly observed would preclude all improvements, and would be destructive to his trade, by giving to foreigners a manifest advantage in favour of their merchandize.

The incorporated fraternities in the kingdoms of Castille and Arragon are 25,581,
and

and their corporate expences amount to 11,687,861 reals. Their revenue is not altogether consumed in feasting, nor in salaries to officers, nor in pensions to their widows, nor yet in law suits, which are said to be both numerous and expensive; but considerable sums are expended for religious purposes, in procuring masses to be said, either for departed spirits, and the souls in purgatory, or for the benefit of the fraternity in which each individual has a proportionable interest. For this reason, these communities enjoy the protection of the ecclesiastical courts, to which, in cases of necessity, they frequently appeal.

The chartered corporations claim their exclusive privileges by royal grant, and on this plea they resist a reformation, not considering, as count Campomanes with propriety remarks, the essential condition of these grants, *Sin perjuicio de tercero*, or that nothing therein contained shall be to the *prejudice of others*, or injurious to the citizens at large.

19th, Similar to the former in operation, as checking manufactures, and thereby diminishing the population of a country, may
be

be reckoned *sumptuary laws*. It is Baron Montesquieu who applies this remark to Spain, and facts certainly vindicate his observation; for had their *dress* been left to the whim and the caprice of the inhabitants, the more delicate manufactures, now lost, would, by the certainty of a ready market, have been retained among them.

20th, Had all Europe continued upon one level; the above stated causes of depopulation had not been so severely felt in Spain. But, unhappily for her, these were rendered more destructive by the rising industry, and consequent prosperity, of rival nations, in which convents were left empty, numerous festivals abolished, to which strangers might resort, where property had been long since more equally divided, and where new learnt commerce led to wealth and power. These nations, in proportion as civil, religious, and commercial liberty advanced, grew into greatness; and, like the spreading oak casting a shade on the more weakly saplings, did not suffer them to rise.

Supposing all nations to be equally well governed, to enjoy the same degree of
civil,

civil, religious, and commercial liberty; the wealth and prosperity of one will extend to all. But should one nation continue free, in the full possession of public confidence and public credit, whilst another is governed by despotic sway, subject to the capricious will of a weak prince, or of a wicked minister, and therefore destitute of public confidence and public credit; the former will increase in wealth and power, the latter will decay, and freemen will give law to slaves.

With so many subsisting causes of depopulation in vain did Philip IV. A. D. 1623, by a special edict, offer a premium for marriage. In vain did he grant all the privileges of nobility to be enjoyed for four years to all new married men; in vain did he deprive the nobles of their privileges if unmarried at the age of twenty-five; and in vain did he offer all the exemptions of nobility for life to the fathers of six children: but should the people take advantage of the present crisis to banish the inquisitors, and to assert their freedom; should they, happy in possessing one of the richest countries upon earth, contract the bounds of their
unwieldy

unwieldy empire; should they confine their views within the limits of their own peninsula, and cultivate the arts of peace; should they, to cherish industry, abolish the monastic orders, lessen the number of their festivals, establish an agrarian law, and strike off the fetters, by which their commerce has been bound; considering the soil, the climate, the abundance of water, the natural productions, the rivers, the harbours, and the local situation, we may venture to affirm, that no country, of the same extent, would be more populous, more wealthy, or more powerful, than Spain.

Let her for ever keep her true interest in view, and all Europe must rejoice in her prosperity.

Before I turn my back upon Madrid, I must briefly describe the ministers of state, and some principal characters about the court, previously noticing the change in the constitution of their government.

It is well known that the government was feudal; that Spain enjoyed the protection of its cortes; and that the power of the monarch was circumscribed by laws. At present, no sovereign can be more despotic.

spotic. The transition forms a most interesting epoch in their history, but such as would require more time in its development, than a traveller can bestow. Whenever I shall have an opportunity to resume this subject, I shall endeavour to shew, that Spain, like all other countries which have lost their liberty, was ruined by the inordinate ambition, and by the unjust pretensions of the great. Whilst labouring to curb the monarch, and to depress the people, they themselves have sunk, have lost their power, and are become perfect cyphers, assembled round the sovereign like prisoners, or at best, like servants, and not like pillars to support his throne.

Should, however, this change in the constitution of their government ultimately lead them to a more perfect system, it will have been productive of much good to the community; because, during the feudal ages, the supreme authority was not regulated by consistent and reasonable principles. The country for many centuries was divided and subdivided into numerous kingdoms, some making profession of christianity, others devoted to the doctrines and precepts of the koran.

koran. The subjects of the latter, that is of the Mahometan princes, long accustomed to despotic sway, had neither inclination nor ability to assert their freedom; those of the former, or rather their military chiefs, wholly unacquainted with the fundamental principles of government, could never be reconciled to a due subordination in obedience to equitable laws. Those haughty nobles, the rude descendants of the Goths and Vandals, whilst they oppressed their vassals, spurned at the idea of subjection, and not only, like independent princes, made war upon each other, but, whenever they conceived themselves aggrieved, even by the sovereign, they threatened him with violence.

As among the Gothic tribes any adventurous leader was under obligation to consult his officers, who followed his standard, not from necessity, but from inclination and opinion; so, when making conquests by their valour for himself and them, he arrived at empire, and they became his *barons*, he still continued to ask their advice on all emergencies, more especially in whatever related to either peace or war. But
when

when he wanted a pecuniary aid, he applied, as was natural, to his commercial cities, inviting them to send their deputies, who might assemble with the barons, assisted by the officers of his court, to deliberate on the expediency of such measures, as should be recommended to their consideration. Thus we take notice of the *commons*, for the first time, in the cortes of Arragon, A. D. 1133, and of Catalonia, A. D. 1283, introduced for the purpose of voting the supplies. As for the *ecclesiastics*, it was not, at least in Arragon, till the commencement of the fourteenth century, that they were summoned to attend the cortes.

These were the three orders, which in *Castille* composed the great council of the kingdom. The first branch consisted of the grandees, the titular nobility, and those among the cavaliers, who could claim this distinction in right of their progenitors. The archbishops and bishops composed the second class; and deputies from the commons occupied the third. The latter came as representatives from the kingdoms of Burgos, Leon, Granada, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, and Toledo; from the cities

of Valladolid, Segovia, Salamanca, Avila, Toro, Zamora, Cuenca, Soria, and Guadalajara; from the village of Madrid; and in latter times from Galicia, under the denomination of a city.

When the cortes were assembled, the king, sitting under the canopy of state, assisted by the supreme council of Castille, acquainted them with the reason of his calling them together, stating the various matters which were to be the subjects of discussion. One of the deputies from Burgos, as prolocutor, answered, that they were disposed to serve his majesty, and begged leave to assemble with the president of his council, that they might confer together on the propositions, which were submitted to their judgment. The chambers then proceeded to consider separately what answer it would be proper to return, and after mature deliberation, when they had communicated to each other their respective resolutions, they transmitted their final determination to the king. The commons at the same time made known their grievances, and sought redress; in consequence of which the king made such provisions

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as prudence dictated and the exigency of the times required.

In *Arragon*, beside the *ricos hombres*, or the nobles, the ecclesiastics and the commons, the cavaliers or hidalgos constituted a fourth order in the cortes. This assembly of the estates appears to have been more numerous than the cortes of Castille. Beside the archbishop of Zaragoza, and the bishops of the kingdom, many abbots and priors claimed a right to be consulted; and to the chamber of the commons nine and twenty cities, communities, and towns sent deputies. These were the cities of Zaragoza, Huesca, Tarazona, Jaca, Barbastro, Calataynd, Daroca, Teruel, Borja, Albarracin; the town of Alcañiz; the communities of Calataynd, Daroca, and Ternel; and the towns of Fraga, Montalvan, Monzon, Sariñena, S. Esteban de Litera, Tamarite, Magallon, Bolea, Alquezar, Ainsa, Loharre, Mosqueruela, Murillo, Berbegal, Almudevar, Alagon, and Canfranc. But the deputies from Exea, Tauste, Uncastillo, Sos, and Sadava took their seats with the hidalgos.

These estates, convoked by the royal

mandate, continued their session only forty days, after which the assembly was of course dissolved; but in the intermediate space, the cortes were equally dissolved if the sovereign absented himself without having prorogued them. When assembled, the archbishop of Zaragoza, as president, addressed the throne, assuring his majesty of their fidelity, and that after mature deliberation they should come to such resolutions, as would be most conducive to the service of God, of the king, and of his kingdom. They made laws, granted supplies, and gave their sanction to either war or peace.

In *Catalonia*, as in Castille, the cortes was composed of *three estates*, or, as the Spaniards call them, *arms*. The ecclesiastical arm consisted of the archbishop of Tarragona, president, eight bishops, twenty-two mitred abbots, nine syndics from the cathedrals of the province, with the grand prior and castellan of Amposta. The military arm included the duke of Cardona, president, all the counts, viscounts, barons, titular nobility, and cavaliers of the first quality. Syndics or representatives from Barcelona,

Iona, Gerona, Lerida, Tortosa, Cervera, Balaguer, and from twenty-four royal boroughs, constituted the *third estate*, or, as it is called, the royal arm. *Braxo real.*

In Navarre, the cortes bore resemblance to the former.

It appears, by the 5th article in the requisitions of the *Santa Junta*, that the reigning monarchs, ever watchful to extend the bounds of their prerogatives, and to advance their power, had, by places and pensions judiciously bestowed, maintained a corrupt influence in the popular assembly; for, as we have already seen, when giving a description of Toledo, the *Junta* insisted that the representatives of the commons should be paid by their constituents and receive neither place nor pension from the crown.

Yet, notwithstanding all that could be offered to the avarice or to the ambition of the members, the cortes, ever troublesome in representing grievances, and difficult to manage, occasioned such embarrassment to the kings, and to their ministers, that, not desirous of listening to complaints, they were tardy in their application to this untractable assembly, and never but from ab-

solute necessity issued a proclamation for calling them together.

Charles V. in whose person the two crowns of Castille and Arragon were first united, had been readily acknowledged by the cortes of both kingdoms, and the former had given him money, but the latter had refused a grant, till their grievances should be redressed. The cortes of Catalonia had followed their example. This resistance issued in a civil war, and among the leading propositions for restoring peace it was demanded, that the cortes should assemble once in three years to consult on public affairs. For this they fought; but their army being defeated, and at length dispersed (A. D. 1522.) no attention was paid to their demand, and the cortes were never permitted to assemble, excepting when the treasury was exhausted, and wanted fresh supplies.

But although depressed, the spirit of the cortes continued unsubdued. They insisted, according to their ancient privilege, first to examine grievances, and then to grant supplies. Charles intreated them not to lose their time in needless debates, when they should

be voting money, and solemnly protested, that he would not refuse them any thing, which in reason they could ask, provided they would first comply with his request. In consequence of this engagement on his part, they indiscreetly voted four millions of ducats, a sum nearly equal to half a million of our money, to be paid in three years; after which he speedily dismissed them.

That was the mortal blow to their authority, and from that time to their final dissolution, A. D. 1647, the cortes may be regarded as an appendage only of the treasury.

If in any future period light should penetrate and be diffused in Spain, we may venture to predict, that the people will have neither patience nor inclination to consult the musty records of the cortes, in order to discover what are their rights, and what the degree of freedom they may justly claim. But, should they take a retrospective view, they will look beyond the feudal ages, and find their claims, not in royal grants and charters, but in the tacit agreement between the ruler and the ruled,

when, for the good of the community, civil politics were formed.

The reigning monarch, Charles III. has never been considered as a man of more than common abilities; but all who know him, admire the goodness of his heart; and indeed it is impossible to look at him without reading distinctly the characters of benevolence and truth. As a man of principle, he esteems it his first duty to promote the happiness of the nation, over which he reigns; and if at any time his conduct hath been inconsistent with his principles; if he hath contracted unnatural alliances, without either the plea of necessity or prospect of advantage; if, in defence of a relation, he hath hastily engaged in war; it hath been always from goodness of heart, and from the influence of gratitude, that he hath erred. In choosing his ministers he consults only the good of his people; and it must be confessed, that commonly he is well directed in his choice.

His present minister, count Florida Blanca, is a man of singular abilities, of upright intentions, and of indefatigable industry. His father was *Escrivano Episcopal*
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in Murcia. He himself, early in life, was taken into the house of Benevente, as advocate to the duke of Arcos, under whose patronage he became fiscal, or one of the judges of Castille. In this employ he made himself conspicuous, by seconding the views of count d'Aranda for the expulsion of the jesuits, and by quieting the tumults which, upon that occasion, the bishop of Cuenca, a prelate exceedingly attached to those intriguing fathers, had excited. After their expulsion, he was sent as ambassador to Rome, where he acquired much reputation, by obtaining the sanction of the pope to measures, which, in the event, have proved most fatal to the papal power. From Rome he was called by his sovereign to direct his councils, whilst the marquis of Grimaldi, who had been minister, was ordered to replace him at the holy see; and count d'Aranda, who, as president of the council and captain general of Castille, had been omnipotent, after having rendered the most important services to his country, was sent ambassador to Paris.

The new minister was not unmindful of his friends. Upon all occasions he has
shewn

shewn a marked attention to the house of Benevente, and has proved, that he retains a grateful remembrance of the protection received at his first entrance into life.

Whilst at Cuenca, he had lodged in the house of don Pedro de Lerena, one of those favourites of fortune, who, without natural pretensions, with little exertion, and less merit, are raised to the highest stations, and to the enjoyment of every comfort that wealth can purchase:

Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum

Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari.

JUVENAL.

Don Pedro de Lerena, son to a miserable publican at Valdemoro, was bound apprentice to a blacksmith, who lived opposite to his father's house. In a lucky hour he married a rich widow of Cuenca, and, by the interest of her family, became some little official in that city. Here he had the good fortune to receive under his roof Moñino, now count Florida Blanca, and to secure a place in his good opinion. When the count took the reins of government, he was not unmindful of his friend, but embraced the earliest opportunity of serving

ing him. Under such a powerful patron, Lerena became agent to the army in Minorca, and, after the capture of that island, went with the duke of Crillon to Gibraltar in the same capacity, and at the termination of the war, he became intendant of Andalusia, and assistant of Seville. Whilst he continued in that employment, he procured, after the custom of his country, certificates of his good conduct from all kinds of bodies, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and from individuals of eminence, all which, being submitted to the inspection of the king, procured him, on the death of don Miguel de Musquiz, the appointment to the high and important offices of the finance and war.

The family of the *Galvez*, equally fortunate, were all men of superior talents. Don Joseph de Galvez, marquis of Sonora, and minister of the Indies, was of a mean family, near Malaga, in the south of Spain, but, by his great abilities, he raised himself and his relations to the highest honours of the state. His two brothers drove boricos, and were called *Tio*, an appellation answering to uncle, or to gaffer; yet one of them became

became viceroy of Mexico, and, at his death, was succeeded in the same regal office by his son.

Don Antonio Valdes, the present minister of the marine, stands indebted to his merit for his high station. As a captain of the navy, and as a commodore, he was distinguished; and how much the nation is indebted to his singular abilities, and more than common application, will appear, when, in describing Cadiz, I shall give a statement of the marine, and shew the increasing power of the Spanish navy. Till I had been at the sea-ports, I could form no idea of his superior talents, and therefore profited little by his condescending permission to approach him. I can only now lament that I did not spend more time in his society.

Of *Count Campomanes* I have already spoken. All who have the honour of being near to him, admire the boundless extent of his abilities, which embrace every science; and the goodness of his heart, which turns all his knowledge towards one object—the prosperity of his country. He shines in all the several branches; but his peculiar excellence is in law, history, and
political

political œconomy. He is wholly indebted to himself, and to the voice of the nation, for his elevation.

It must be striking to an Englishman to see all the most important offices occupied by men, who have been taken from the lower ranks, and not to find among them one man of fashion, not one grandee of Spain. These are all precisely where they ought to be: lords of the bed-chamber, grooms of the stole, masters of the horse, all near the throne, partaking of its splendor, whilst the drudgery and responsibility of office is left to others, who are better qualified to bear that burden. In England it is far otherwise: our men of fashion, from their infancy, are trained to high pursuits; at school they learn ambition, and when they come into the house of commons, they see, that to be distinguished for application and for knowledge is the only way to gain consideration, and to arrive at power. This proves such a spur to diligence, that, in spite of their hereditary wealth and honours, many of the greatest men, and the most able ministers, are to be found among our principal nobility.

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In Spain, on the contrary, in the higher ranks, all is torpid. Satisfied with hereditary wealth and honours, the grandees sink into mere sensualists, and are lost. Nay, such is the general neglect of education, that the principal ministers find it difficult to procure proper men to fill the common offices.

When my friend, don Eugenio Izquierdo, returned from Paris, where he had been educated for the royal cabinet of natural history, of which he was appointed director on the death of Davila; he was desired immediately to make out a catalogue, in order to convince the world, that Spain was not behind other nations in this interesting branch of science, and that he might assist to wipe away the reproach, which M. Masson had cast upon the nation. He was revolving this commission in his mind, but ere he could begin the previous arrangement of the cabinet, he was hurried away to teach the art of dying, and to superintend the cloth manufacture at Guadalajara, where all was in confusion, and where every branch required a reform.

According to the maxim of no contemptible

temptible philosopher, *a wise man is every thing*, either an humble mechanic, or a minister of state ; and certainly, with time, he may be qualified for either. But however qualified my friend might be for this new employment, he could not shew himself at Guadalajara without danger ; for the moment he appeared, he found himself in a nest of hornets. All who had been accustomed to eat the bread of idleness, to receive their salaries, and to neglect their work, or to share among themselves the plunder of the state, became his enemies, and, as I understand, never left him, till by their persecution, at the end of two years, they had compelled him to retire.

His friend Angulo, trained by him at Paris for the branch of natural history, whose ambition it was to be vice-director of the cabinet, no sooner returned to court, than he was appointed chemical professor, and received orders to prepare for giving a course of lectures the ensuing winter. Astonished at this command, he inquired for the elaboratory and the apparatus. He was told, that the foundation of the former should be instantly laid, and that he himself
must

must give orders for the latter. But before he had time to look about him, he was sent by the minister of the finance to superintend the working of a lead mine at Linares. My friend acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the minister, and was appointed director general of all the mines in Spain. In this capacity he was sent to Riotinto, where I engaged to follow him, but when I came near the place, I found he had been dispatched to another part of the kingdom, to inspect a mine supposed to be of cinnabar. Samples of this ore had been sent to the minister of the finance, with the quicksilver extracted from it, which was in abundance; and the most flattering hopes were entertained at Madrid of the wealth to be obtained from this new discovery. But, unfortunately, the whole was a deception; and my friend, mortified at first at not being able to detect a single particle of mercury, was at last so happy as to extort a confession from the impostor, of the means made use of to deceive the minister, under the expectation of being appointed manager of this rich mine.

Don Joseph Clavijo had been manager of
the

the king's theatre; but when a proper person was wanted to conduct one of the public prints, he was appointed to that office, and, being a man of letters, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the court. On the death of M. Davila, when don Eugenio Izquierdo became the principal director of the cabinet, and a proper person, as vice director, was wanted to succeed him, the minister of finance fixed on my friend Clavijo, and will, I am persuaded, find in him, that a wise man is every thing. This gentleman hath already translated the works of the count de Buffon; and, should he be left quietly in his department, from his abilities and his application, it may be hoped, that he will make a rapid progress in the science of natural history. Yet, such is the scarcity of able men, that, in all probability, M. Clavijo will soon receive some new commission.

During my winter's residence at Madrid, I cultivated the acquaintance of colonel Nodin, an Italian officer in the Spanish service, distinguished for his proficiency in algebra. This gentleman was so happy as to attract the notice of the minister, and

received a commission to perfect the navigation at Tortosa, where almost insuperable difficulties occurred. He was preparing to set out, when I left Madrid with the pleasing expectation of meeting him at the place of his destination; but on my arrival, I found that he had been sent into the north of Spain, to make a road, where the minister of finance conceived that algebraical calculations might be useful.

It would be inexcuseable in speaking, even in the most transient manner of men, who are distinguished in Madrid as employed about the court, not to mention the two brothers Yriarte, who, for taste, for judgment, and for science, have few superiors in the most enlightened countries. Don Bernardo has some place in the finance, but his brother is the man of letters.

There was a time when the apothecary, don Casimiro Gomez Ortega, was the only person qualified to teach either botany, chemistry, mineralogy, or natural history; but he has lived to see many competitors for fame, not excepting his favourite science, in which he most excels.

Don

Don Antonio Solano, professor of experimental philosophy, merits attention for the clearness and precision of his demonstrations; but, unfortunately, although his lectures are delivered gratis, such is the want of taste for science in Madrid, that nobody attends them.

Gratitude, as well as the highest veneration, requires that I should mention don Francisco Bayer, first librarian to his majesty, and late preceptor to the infant don Gabriel, a prince who stands high in the republic of letters, for his elegant translation of Sallust; in this work we evidently see the master's hand, but the pupil is said to deserve his share of praise.

The last person I shall mention, who is distinguished for his talents, although not the least deserving of commendation, is Juan Bautista Muñoz, historiographer to the king, with special commission to write the conquest of America. This gentleman honoured me with his friendship, and suffered me to examine freely all his manuscripts. He was seven years collecting his materials, and, for that purpose, visited every part of Spain, where the families and

descendants of the first adventurers reside, or where any public records are preserved. His collections are voluminous, and, I have no doubt, will be given to the world with the impartiality becoming an historian, and with that degree of elegance, which may be well expected from an author of his superior talents. He is a man of a clear head, a good classical scholar, and perfectly acquainted with the characteristic excellence of those, either in Greece or Rome, who have been most admired for historical composition. From him, therefore, not merely something new, but something highly interesting, may be expected, and such as I may venture to say will vindicate the national character from the charge of cruelty, with which it has been stained, and leave the reproach, where we might naturally look for it, in the rapacity of undisciplined and desperate adventurers.

Had Dr. Robertson, or had his friend Mr. Waddilove, known where to look for records, and spent seven years in making the collection, his work had been much more worthy of the public eye. He has, however, seized the ground, and when
these

these new materials shall appear, he will employ them to advantage; and, both by his arrangement, and by the peculiar graces of his stile, confirm the reputation his former writings have acquired for him; and, if we may be allowed the expression, put the last finish to the temple of his fame.

When I was about to leave Madrid, I addressed myself to my old friend Canosa, and, in a laughing way, desired that he would procure me letters of recommendation for the southern provinces. He at once promised that I should have them; but, not satisfied with this mode of application, I desired Mr. Liston to beg from count Florida Blanca a letter for Murcia, the place of his nativity. The count obligingly inquired, what route I meant to take? and, in a few days, sent me letters to all the governors of provinces, and to some principal person in every city, through which I was to pass.

Nothing then remained, but to form a party, and to hire a carriage for the journey.

In the mean time I procured proper pass-ports,

ports, one from the minister, another from count Campomanes, and a third from my valuable friend Escarano. The first was for the sake of form; but the two latter might be of the most essential service, and were actually useful to me on several occasions. I likewise got myself introduced to the inquisitor-general, not merely to satisfy a natural curiosity, but that, in case I should stand in need of his protection, my name might not be altogether unknown to him.

Having adjusted all matters for my journey, previous to my departure, I enquired into the prices of provisions at Madrid, and found them to be as follow:

Bread, $6\frac{1}{2}$ quarts *per* pound of 16 ounces;

Beef, - 14 ditto ditto;

Mutton, 15 ditto ditto.

A quart is $\frac{1}{8}$ of a penny, or a small fraction more than a farthing. Eight quarts are equal to $2\frac{1}{4}$ pence English.

J O U R N E Y
FROM
M A D R I D T O S E V I L L E.

15th February, 1787.

W H E N the day for our departure was arrived, we entered our *coche de colleras*, drawn by seven mules, and, passing through Valdemoro, came to Aranjuez in the evening.

At *Valdemoro*, a town containing one thousand nine hundred and thirty-eight souls, with two convents, we found a royal manufactory of stockings, lately established by the minister of finance, to honour the place of his nativity. The frames are about one hundred, not all as yet employed. The stockings are very weak, and badly woven ;

the worsted is only of two threads, and not well spun. In this manufacture, a good hand will earn twelve reals, or about 2s. 4½*d.* *per* day.

As the country was not new to me, my attention was chiefly occupied in reading my companions. With one of them, M. Segulier, a French captain in the Spanish service, I was well acquainted, having met him often at the dukes de la Vauguion and Berwick. The two others were Colonel Davila, a native Spaniard, lately from Mexico, and a naval officer; the former going to Malaga, the latter to Cadiz. As these gentlemen had often travelled the same road, they knew where to lay in provisions, and where to procure good wine; consequently we wanted nothing, that money could procure.

The inn at Aranjuez is upon a large scale, making forty-four beds, all very clean and comfortable. It is royal property, and the king receives from it a rent of fifty-four thousand reals, or £. 540 *per annum*.

The next day we passed through Ocaña, a considerable city, two leagues from Aranjuez, and nine from Madrid. It comprehends

hends four parishes, containing four thousand eight hundred and eighty-six souls, and supports ten convents. As it was too early to think of rest, we proceeded four leagues further, to *La Guardia*; and although it is not the usual stage, we found good accommodations. All the way from Madrid, the country is tolerably level; the soil is sandy; the rock is gypsum; the produce chiefly corn, with some vines and olives. Here, in the famous country of La Mancha, we naturally looked out for wind-mills, which, as they have no streams to grind their corn, we saw, as we expected, in the vicinity of every village. They have no oxen; and nothing but mules, or asses, are used for all the purposes of husbandry.

La Guardia was formerly a place of strength, and was long defended by the Moors; but now it appears to be verging to decay. It reckons still about one thousand families, consisting, according to the returns to government, of three thousand three hundred and forty-four persons; but, in fact, they have more than three thousand who receive the sacrament, and about eight hundred children under the communicating age.

age. They have no manufacture except salt-petre, and that is not considerable: hence their poverty and wretchedness. Their lands are divided into small allotments, but the chief proprietor is Don Diego de Plata. The rents are paid in corn.

The church is a very handsome well-proportioned building; the altars mostly new, and simple. In one chapel are many good pictures by Angelus Nardi.

They have no beef. Mutton is twelve quarts, bread five quarts the pound of sixteen ounces.

After dinner we proceeded two leagues to sleep at *Tembleque*, a town of about two thousand families, but reckoned to contain only four thousand four hundred and eighteen souls, with one parish-church, one chapel, and one convent. The most remarkable thing here is a manufacture of saltpetre, in which are employed forty men in winter, sixty in summer, making six thousand arrobas every year. I found the manager more than commonly intelligent. He told me, that the expences, notwithstanding the most rigid economy, amounted to six hundred thousand reals; that is, to about four reals, or

or nearly $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, of which, according to this statement, the labour costs no more than one penny; so that the other eight pence halfpenny is for fuel, furnaces, management, interest of capital, and other incidental charges. Should we carry this calculation with us to Madrid, how much beyond what I have already stated will appear to be the loss on those extensive works, where fuel is so scarce!

He informed me, that he collected all his earth from spots of ground, on which animal and vegetable substances had lain in a state of putrefaction.

On Saturday, *February* 17th, we passed through *Camuñas*, a miserable village containing about three hundred cottages, to *las Ventas de Puerto Lapiche*, having in these three last days travelled two and twenty leagues.

The country is flat, and the view to the north extensive; but before we reached *las Ventas*, we had lost sight of the snowy mountains, which separate the two Castilles. Under favourable circumstances of air and elevation, I think they must be seen more than a hundred miles. The soil is a
loose

loose sand of quartz, and the rock is granite. It is ploughed with two asses or two mules; and wherever it is watered by norias, produces plenty of corn. The wine is excellent, and in great abundance. The village of *Lapiche* is wretched; and the people appear half starved, although their crops can never be disappointed by the want of rain, for in the space of about sixty acres, I counted more than thirty norias.

The Venta is in the old Spanish stile. It is one hundred and fifty feet in length, and, independent of a communicating shed, or penthouse, not more than ten feet wide. At one end is a chimney, by way of kitchen, ten feet square, with an hearth in the middle, surrounded on three sides by a bench, upon which the muletiers sit by day, and lie down to sleep by night; but by no means separated from the long range of stables, that with primitive simplicity, under one hospitable roof,

————— Ignemque Laremque

Et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra.

JUVENAL.

There is, adjoining to this, a court yard,
with

with a well in the middle of it, and at one end a penthouse for carts and coaches. The bed-room is over the stable, and, according to custom, all night long we heard, or might have heard, the tinkling bells on the heads of our mules, at least as long as they were feeding.

Before we went to rest, we entered into treaty with the curate for early mass. He stood for sixteen reals; but at last, on closing the bargain, he agreed for eight. Had he persisted in his demand, we must have complied; because, to hear mass on holidays in a catholic country, is indispensable, and it would not have been convenient for us to stop upon the road.

From *las Ventas* we descended into an extensive plain, bounded by high hills on every side, producing olives and corn, with saffron. At the end of eight leagues, we came to Manzanares. All the travellers on this road were well armed; and three monumental crosses proved that their fears were not ill founded. It was Sunday, yet many ploughs were working. Their crops are watered by numerous norias.

Manzanares has one thousand eight hundred

dred families, six thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight souls, which proportion is itself a sufficient index of their poverty. The houses are built with mud, and the poor are almost naked. In the church we saw four good pictures.

The Castle, with a considerable estate, and the tithes, all belong to the knights of Calatrava, and are held by the infant don Antonio, yielding him a revenue of thirty thousand ducats, or £. 3,295 per annum. We examined the premises, viewed the extensive granaries, and tasted the rich variety of wines. The steward was sending some to court, for the table of the infant, which appeared to me, without exception, the best in Spain. It had the flavour of the richest burgundy, with the strength and body of the most generous port. After praising this wine, and thanking the steward for his civilities, we pursued our walk till the close of day; when, at our return to the posada, we had the happiness of finding more than three gallons of this wine lodged there, and already deposited in our *botas*, or leather bottles, for the journey. Unfortunately, the two coachmen soon discovered

covered its peculiar excellence, and, by their assistance, we finished in one day, what I had persuaded myself would serve us three.

The posada is more comfortable, and upon a larger scale than common, with two and thirty beds, all upon the ground floor. The building is about one hundred and eighty feet long, by thirty-six or forty wide, with one long range through the middle for coach-house and stable, from which the kitchen is scarcely separated by a partial skreen. The bed-rooms to the right and left, are about sixteen feet by fourteen, each after the Spanish fashion, furnished with four beds.

On Monday, 19th *February*, we left Manzanares early in the morning, passing through a level country to *Valdepeñas*, at the distance of four leagues, to dinner. The soil is sand with gravel, producing some olives and much wine, but mostly corn. The norias are well constructed, with the great wheel of iron instead of wood.

The rock is schist.

In the way we passed two monumental crosses.

Valdepeñas is famous for good wine,
which

which is sent chiefly to Madrid; but whenever the navigation shall be opened, as proposed, to Seville, this, with many other curious wines, the produce of La Mancha, will find its way to England, and will be in great request. In this town are seven thousand six hundred and fifty-one souls.

From hence we passed through *Santa Cruz*, and then began to ascend among rough uncultivated hills, till we took up our lodging at *La Conception de Almuradiel*. This little village, of thirty-six families, is the first we meet with in the new settlements of the Sierra Morena. It was built A. D. 1781.

The inn surrounds a court yard of ninety feet by fifty, with a coach-house adjoining, of one hundred and fifty feet by forty, and has stables in proportion. The rooms are well fitted up, each with a chimney, and two alcoves for beds. Above these are the apartments of the administrator, his deputy, and his servants; with extensive granaries, and a corridor, forming a communication around it. Every thing here is upon the king's account, and, of course, little attention

tion is paid to travellers. They gave me, for the first time in Spain, dirty sheets; but, after some remonstrances, the administrator lent me a clean pair of his own.

Every settler has ninety *fanegas* of land in *emphiteusis*, or as a copyhold, paying only the tithes to the king, and twelve quartos, or about three pence acknowledgment for the house.

Bread sells for eight quartos and an half a pound.

Ram mutton, ten quartos.

Beef they have none.

Wine is two quartos the quartillo, or about four pence sterling the gallon.

Santa Elena is peopled chiefly with Germans. In the vicinity we met with numerous cottages, not collected together, but scattered over the country, according to the plan recommended by the Abbé Raynal; but they soon discovered, what in this instance he seems to have overlooked, that man is happier in society, and therefore gave up this mode of settlement for villages.

The country is highly cultivated; yet so

many trees are left, that the whole, at a little distance, appears like an extensive forest.

They plough with cows, and make dispatch. In this part of Spain, and indeed all through Andalusia and La Mancha, milk, butter and cheese, appear to have no value, or at least it may be said that in those provinces they have no dairies, and very seldom milk their cows. *Gazpacho* seems to supply the place of buttermilk and whey among the peasants, who during the heat of summer live chiefly on a mixture of *bread, vinegar and oil*. There can be no doubt that as the country improves in cultivation, they will learn to derive a profit from their milk.

In one cottage we saw tame partridges. These are trained, like decoy ducks, to collect others.

In the higher regions of the Sierra we find the granite; but, as we descend, the schist again appears, with limestone and gypsum.

At noon we came to *Carolina*, the capital of these new settlements.

Their founder, D. Pablo de Olavide, is a native

native of Peru, who, being protected by count d'Aranda, was made at first syndic of Madrid, and afterwards *asistente de Sevilla*. Whilst in this employment, he conceived the idea of introducing agriculture and arts in the deserted mountains of the Sierra, where rapine and violence had for ages established their dominion. The difficulty was to procure settlers. One Turrigel, of Bavaria, contracted for six thousand husbandmen; but, instead of men trained to agriculture, he brought only vagabonds, who all either died or were dispersed, without advancing the work for which, at an immense expence, they had been brought.

Settlers were then invited from all parts of Germany, and, in order to encourage emigration from those hives, every new comer, on application, received a lot of land, a house, two cows, one ass, five sheep, as many goats, six hens with a cock, one pregnant sow, a plough, and a pick-axe, with other emoluments of inferior value. They begin with fifty fanegas of land, of ten thousand square feet each; and when they have cultivated these, they receive fifty more, free of all rent for the first ten

years, and after that period, subject only to the royal tithes. No proprietor can alienate his land to one who is in possession of a lot, in order that the farms may never become either too little, or too big. They are not permitted to settle, either near to a morafs or to stagnant water.

The foil about Carolina confifts chiefly of fand; and the rock is either limestone or gypfum.

They produce olives, oil, wine, filk, wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, Indian wheat, and lentils.

They have no manufactures, and therefore cannot profitably employ all their people. Hence it is, that thefe new fettlements fwarm with half naked beggars.

The numbers, at prefent fettled in the Sierra Morena, will appear from the government returns, and are as follows: unmarried men, two thoufand three hundred and eighty-eight; unmarried women, one thoufand feven hundred and twenty-four; married men, one thoufand fix hundred and twenty; married women, one thoufand fix hundred and nine; widows, three hundred and eighteen; widowers, two hundred

hundred and nine; total seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight. Of these, the husbandmen are one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four; day labourers, four hundred and eleven; artificers, one hundred and seventy-two; servants, three hundred and sixty-six; employed by the crown, one hundred and eighteen.

Considering that all these were assembled and established in less than ten years, we must admire the energy and zeal of Olavide. They have been collected, at a vast expence, from distant countries, and enjoy singular immunities, yet the colony is far from prospering. The reason of this must be sought for, either in the climate, the soil, the government, the morals of the people, or in the want of a market for the surplus of their produce.

It is allowed that no country, if the climate is unhealthy, or if the soil is barren, if it wants corn and cattle, or if it is destitute of fuel, can be populous; but, in the Sierra, excepting tertians, they are subject to few diseases; the soil is certainly productive both in fruits and herbage, and it abounds with wood. Supposing

the government of a country to be either weak or vicious, the peasant having no certainty of protection for his person and for his property, the most fertile soil, notwithstanding repeated efforts to increase its population, will be deserted. Or, should the morals be corrupt, the people will not increase and multiply; the births will not fill up the vacancies made by death; and, to keep up the population, emigrants must be invited from more prolific nations. But neither is it from these causes that the Sierra languishes, because the people are self governed, that is to say, five villages unite to choose a senate for the administration, both temporal and spiritual; and as for luxury, with its attendant vices, it is yet unknown. We must refer, therefore, to the want of a market, for the unprosperous condition of this new, this sequestered colony.

The principles, thus briefly stated, are confirmed by the experience of all nations. In favourable circumstances, a country, not fully peopled, will double its numbers at least every five and twenty years. Whenever, therefore, instead of thus advancing,

vancing, a defective population is at a stand, or going backwards, we may be certain that, if sought for, some of the causes above suggested will be discovered.

At Carolina we met with comfortable rooms in a posada, which is kept by a Frenchman, and fared sumptuously. It was February 20th, yet we had cauliflowers and green peas.

The people in this district being subject to agues, and to such intermittents, as, when neglected, soon turn putrid, I looked about for stagnant water, and for marsh miasma; but I could find none, and am therefore satisfied, that these diseases may arise from other causes, beside those which have been commonly assigned.

Thus far the road through the Sierra is excellent; but all beyond is in a state of nature.

About two leagues from Carolina is *Guadaroman*, a village comprising one hundred families, each possessing its fifty fanegas of land. It is situated on a gentle declivity, by the side of a purling brook, in a fertile spot, which is chequered with corn fields

and little groves of ilex. The distant hills are beautifully varied in their forms, and covered with wood. The soil is sandy, and the trees are healthy; yet the inhabitants suffer much by intermittent fevers.

They have no beef. Mutton is seventeen quarts, or four pence three farthings the pound of two and thirty ounces; and bread is half that price.

The inhabitants are chiefly Germans, who, both by their industry and frugality, do credit to their country.

As we increase our distance from this little colony, we lose sight of every thing which marks the residence of man; but, in approaching *Bailen*, we pass through immense plantations of the olive, belonging, with that village, and a vast extent of country round it, to the countess of Peñafiel. In the way we see *Baños*, with its castle, situated on a hill, and commanding a distant prospect. Having quitted *Bailen*, we entered a forest, and at the top of a hill saw one monumental cross; then, leaving *Zogueva*, with its convent, to the right, we came to the venta of *Sequaca*; and after dinner,

dinner, sometimes traversing extensive forests of the ilex, at others meeting with plantations of the olive, we came to Andujar.

The rock, wherever it is laid bare by torrents, appears to be hard granite, of different species, both of the red and of the white.

Andujar is situated in a rich and highly cultivated plain. It numbers six thousand eight hundred families, five parish churches, and ten convents, but has no manufacture. The castle carries the marks of great antiquity; it was taken from the Moors, A. D. 1225, by Ferdinand III. surnamed *El Santo*.

Thursday, *February* 22, at five in the morning, when we left Andujar, after crossing the bridge over the Guadalquivir, and entering a plantation of olives, my companions each cocked his pistol, and held it to the window, whilst a soldier, with his gun, walked by our side, and the coachmen were charged instantly to stop, if any one appeared. These precautions, I apprehend, were needless, because it was well known that we were armed; but as several robberies

beries had been committed near the city, they thought it right to be upon their guard. At break of day, as we advanced into a more open country, our apprehensions vanished, and the pistols were uncocked.

All the hills we crossed, bounding the river to the north, are covered with smooth, round, limestone gravel, and some flints; but in approaching to Del Carpio, the rock appears formed of silicious grit with mica, evidently from decomposed granite.

In *Del Carpio* are seven hundred and fifty houses, with an old castle, a post-house, and a well built posada.

As soon as we arrived, we paid our respects to the corregidor, and shewed him our passports, in order to secure a good reception at our inn. The reason of this precaution was, that one of our companions had formerly quarrelled with the good man of the inn, and had caused him to be sent to prison, for attempting to stab him with a knife. The man kept out of sight, but his wife was determined to take revenge. It was little she could do; but all she could, she did, to testify her resentment. For
this

this purpose she assigned us a miserable room, with four mattresses, each occupying its corner, and stretched upon the floor. Fearing to be devoured by fleas, I chose rather to sleep in our carriage. In the middle of the night the treading of a foot awakened my attention; and, as there was a lamp, I looked out to see who was in motion. My situation rendered me invisible, and the light enabled me clearly to discern every thing that passed. The person who was moving was a muleteer, and his object was to see what he could steal. For this purpose he examined the kitchen, then visited the passage communicating with the bed-rooms, and tried at every door, but finding them all fastened, he came to the coach; where seeing me, he fled back into the stable, and hid himself.

Provisions here are cheap. They kill no mutton: beef, goat, and kid, are sixteen quarts a pound consisting of thirty-two ounces.

The land in the vicinity is rich. It belongs chiefly to the dutchess of Alba, and her corregidor administers it for her. He
appears

appears to manage well. The plantations of olives are extensive, and the trees are not, like those of the countefs of Peñafiel round Bailen, worn out with age, but young and healthy.

As we draw nigh to Cordova, the highest hills are covered with flints and boulder stones, or large smooth tumblers, of limestone, silicious grit, and granite; and, as we approach the river, we discover a bed of gravel, of all the above species, twelve or fourteen feet in thickness.

Cordova is situated in a plain of great extent, which is bounded on the south by swelling hills cultivated to their very summits, and on the north by a chain of rugged mountains, the continuation of the Sierra Morena. Through the midst of the plain runs the Guadalquivir; and the whole country being well wooded, well watered, and well cultivated, cannot be surpassed either in riches or in beauty. Here, for the first time since I left Barcelona, I rejoiced to find the fig, the orange, and the palm, in great abundance. It is a most enchanting spot.

This city contains thirty-two thousand
souls,

souls, fourteen parishes, and forty-four convents.

The first thing I did on my arrival, was to present myself before the intendant, with my letter from count Florida Blanca. He received me with politeness, and pressed me to prolong my stay; but, unfortunately, I had made engagements, and therefore proceeded the next day. All that I could do was to visit the great church, and with this I was exceedingly delighted. Its numerous pillars, arranged in quincunx, appeared like a grove of saplings; and are said to be eight hundred, but I had not time to count them, yet I should conceive them to be many more. It was a mosque. The dimensions are five hundred and ten feet, by four hundred and twenty.

I was struck with the multitude of beggars in every street; and, upon inquiry, soon found the cause to be the mistaken benevolence of the bishop, of the canons, and of the convents, in distributing alms to all who ask. The bishopric is worth eighty thousand five hundred ducats, or £.8,843 pounds sterling, per annum. Out of this income the bishop gives money
every

every day, alternately to the men and to the women, and on some days he has relieved more than seven thousand persons. Besides pecuniary donations, he distributes daily thirty fanegas of corn; yet, notwithstanding this more than ample provision for the indolent and vicious, many are said to have perished last year for want of bread.

The chief diseases are tertians and putrid fevers. These arise from the quantity of cucumbers and melons they eat, not only in the summer, but early in the spring.

Provisions are, beef thirteen quarts the double pound, mutton fifteen, pork twenty-two, wine six quarts the quartillo, or about one shilling the gallon. Labourers expect seven or eight reals a day, or, if they are victualled, only three.

Cordova had the honour of giving birth to Seneca and Lucan; and when Abdoul-raman, after subduing the south of Spain, had established here the seat of his dominion, (A. D. 759), the sciences, with arts and arms, which were every where else abandoned, took up their residence, and flourished in this city.

Saturday, February 24, at six in the morning,

morning, we set forwards on our journey, having joined another coach, which was going the same road with four gentlemen well armed. In travelling through Spain, I have constantly observed, that, wherever danger is apprehended, travellers associate, and form sometimes considerable bodies, yet without any communication, or verbal engagement for mutual defence, or any other bond of union beside their fears. Influenced by these alone, they unite their forces, and make a tacit agreement to support each other, or at least, by their numbers, to intimidate the thieves. One of our companions, the naval officer, not satisfied with this reinforcement; in addition to the soldier, who attended our captain by way of a servant and a guard, hired two marines. Thus escorted, we proceeded with confidence, yet with circumspection; thinking at least to have a view of the villains, who had been robbing on this road, but happily we saw nothing of them.

In traversing the downs, I observed on the summit of the highest hill, at the distance of about two leagues from the Guadalquivir, the surface covered with large
boulder

boulder stones, of the same species with those already mentioned in the approach to Cordova. Such facts should be treasured in the memory.

We came at noon to *Charlotta*, a new settlement, and at present in its infancy, like those of the Sierra Morena. The country is beautiful, the soil rich, the herbage luxuriant, and the oxen large. In the posada we had a French cook, and fared well. The price of provisions is here, beef eighteen quarts, mutton twenty, kid eighteen, bread eleven for a pound of thirty-two ounces, wine ten quarts the quartillo.

From hence, after dinner, we proceeded over the downs, admiring their extreme fertility, of which, in a few cultivated spots, we were able to judge by the luxuriant crops of beans then in full blossom. These were well hoed. As we approached Ecija, the face of the country improved; cultivation appeared to be carried on with spirit; the oxen became remarkable for beauty and for size; and the plantations of olives shewed the richness of the soil.

The rock is a pudding stone, and therefore,

fore, with the smooth tumblers above described, prove to a demonstration that the whole country partook of the grand revolution, to which I have so frequently referred.

Ecija is eight leagues from Cordova. It is delightfully situated on the banks of the Xenil, with pleasant walks, serving, like those of the great cities in Spain, for the evening resort. It contains twenty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-six souls, and has six parish churches, eight chapels, twenty convents, and six hospitals.

The churches, built entirely of brick, are fitted up in the old taste, and crowded with pillars, which are loaded with preposterous ornaments, and covered with gold. The most extravagant of all is the church of *nuestra Señora del Rosario*, in the convent of the Dominicans; this may serve as a model for the perfection of vitiated taste.

The Plaza Mayor is a fine object, very spacious, and much to be admired for its balconies, occupying the whole front of the houses.

When we arrived, we found every one engaged in talking over a defeat, which the

king's troops had suffered the preceding day from the smugglers, near one hundred of whom, well armed, entering the city, had driven away the military, had killed one man, and had then, unmolested, sold their snuff to the inhabitants. This violence was more than usual, and proceeded from the bad policy of government, in raising the price of tobacco from thirty to forty reals the pound, whilst the illicit trader purchased the same commodity in Portugal for eight. With such encouragement for defrauding the revenue, it will never be possible to prevent this trade; and whilst men have such powerful inducements to violate the laws, no government, how strenuous soever its exertions, and how cruel soever the punishment inflicted on offenders, will ever be able to maintain a good police. In Spain, unless it be accompanied with murder, the penalty for smuggling is commonly a confinement for seven or ten years to hard labour in the *presidios*; where, by communication with profligate and hardened villains, who are under similar correction, they are prepared for the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes; and, thus qualified, they are turned loose

loose upon the public. Previous to this part of his education, the smuggler seldom robs on the highway, unless when he has been plundered, and is therefore more than commonly distressed for want of horses, of money, or of arms. In such circumstances he becomes outrageous, and frequently begins with murdering the traveller, whom he means to rob.

Farmers in this vicinity rent dear, paying commonly two bushels of wheat and one of barley for every bushel of their seed; or if they pay a stipulated sum of money, it is not immediately to the land-owner, but, as under-tenants, to rich land-jobbers; and therefore they can expect no moderation. Farms, if inclosed, let much higher than those which are open, because the latter are liable to be fed by the Merino sheep; whereas, should they enter the former, one-fifth of the number trespassing would be forfeited. This, however, proves a never-failing source of quarrels and contentions between the occupiers of land and those, who may be called graziers, that is, the proprietors of the Merino flock, who, under the sanction of a peculiar code, claim

the privilege of feeding, not only in the common pasture, but even in plantations of olives. The murders consequent on these quarrels have been more than two hundred in the space of a few years; and the litigations have cost the contending parties more than the value, both of their sheep and of their olives. The council of Castille interfered, in the year 1570, to prohibit this; but the great sheep-masters appeal to their own courts, plead their privilege, as granted by the Mesta code, and support their claim by force.

Throughout the whole province of Andalusia, cities and boroughs have immense possessions, in many instances extending to the distance of three leagues from them every way, including thus more than two hundred thousand acres, either of waste land, or of such as might be cultivated, if it were not too remote from the habitation of the farmer. Of these, not one-fourth part is broken up by the plough; and that, which remains uncultivated, rather checks than promotes the breed of cattle. In short, according to the opinion of the best patriots in Spain, Andalusia is ruined by high rents, and

and by common pastures. (*V. Memorias de la Sociedad Economica. Madrid.*)

February 25. At five in the morning, we left Ecija, and followed the Roman causeway leading from Cordova to Seville, till we came to Carmona. The country through which we passed belongs to the crown, and will be improved as fast as emigrants can be induced to come. At present little is cultivated, and that little, bears the face of wretchedness, exhibiting ruined cottages, and half-naked peasants. We conversed with a Frenchman, who had been here eighteen years, and during that period had been often removed from his plantation, because, by his diligence and skill, he had improved his allotment, which being given to slovens, he was compelled to take new land. It is true they always gave him, what they considered as an equivalent, not intending to injure him, but meaning only to avail themselves of his superior application and abilities; yet, in the end, they reduced him to poverty, and broke his spirit. This, he informed us, was no uncommon case; and, from the misery every where visible in

these new colonies, I am inclined to credit his report.

The botanical productions are chiefly the ilex, the myrtle, the gum cistus, the lavender, a species of the Daphne, and a plant called *lentiscus*.

Carmona is built on a declivity, looking down upon a rich valley, which is bounded by distant hills, excepting only to the south, where a wide opening gives passage to the Guadalquivir.

It contains twelve thousand six hundred and eighty-five souls, and includes seven parish churches, with five convents for men, two for women, and two hospitals. Here they reckon more than a hundred oil-mills.

As soon as we arrived, although the sun was set, I took horses, and went off for Seville, that I might have a comfortable bed. The distance is six leagues, or about twenty miles, and the charge was one hundred and twenty reals, or four-and-twenty shillings, including the licence, which must always be taken out, when you begin a journey with post horses.

It being dark, I could not see the country,

try, but I found that it was level, that the soil was sandy, and, by the incessant croaking of frogs, I concluded that every ditch was full of stagnant water.

At ten in the evening I arrived at Seville, well contented with my horses, having travelled the six leagues in little more than two hours. Indeed, no horses can move more pleasantly, than those of Andalusia, cantering the whole way, without needing either whip or spur. I took up my lodging at the posada de la Baviere, and slept more comfortably than I had done since we left Madrid.

S E V I L L E.

THE morning after my arrival I examined my letters. Among the persons of distinction and authority, to whom I was recommended, I judged, as an ecclesiastic, my first attention to be due to the archbishop, and therefore I hastened early to his palace. He received me with politeness, permitted me to kiss his ring, made me sit down, and then, having read my letter, he told me, that as long as I continued at Seville I must dine every day with him, unless when I should be more agreeably engaged. After some little conversation, he desired to see the address of my other letters, and calling a page, he ordered that a coach should be got ready, and that one of his chaplains should attend me, to deliver my letters, and to shew me every thing worthy
of

of attention in the city. When I left him, he desired me to come back to dinner, telling me, that during my stay, that coach would be wholly at my service. Agreeable to this invitation I returned, and not only dined with him that day, but almost every day during a fortnight's residence at Seville. I was indeed often pressinglly invited by other families; but, as it was the season of lent, and as fish, in Spain, never agreed with me, I declined their invitations. At the archbishop's table were many aged persons, who were supposed to be infirm, and therefore for them were provided a variety of dishes, such as others did not feel themselves at liberty to touch. To this circumstance I reckon myself indebted for returning health; because, for want of custom, and in a weakly condition at the time, I should never have been able to endure a fast, which, with the exception of the intervening sabbaths, is in fact, although not by precept, a fast of forty days.

The archbishop is well lodged, and keeps a hospitable table. He is quite the man of fashion: his manners are engaging, and his conversation lively. His usual
com-

company at dinner was his confessor, his chaplains, his secretaries, and a few friends. He was attended by his pages, who are generally young men of family, recommended to his patronage, and educated under his inspection. The librarian sometimes sat down at the table, at other times waited behind a chair. He was commonly my guide, and with him I visited every corner of the city.

Seville stands on the banks of the Guadalquivir, in the midst of a rich, and, to the eye, a boundless plain. It is surrounded by a wall of more than a league in circumference, with one hundred and seventy-six towers. Over one of the gates is the following inscription :

Condidit Alcides, renovavit Julius Urbem,
Restituit Christo Fernandus Tertius, Heros.

Which, over another gate, is thus translated :

Hercules me edifico;
Julio Cesar me cercò
De Muros y torres altas;
Y el Rey santo me gano
Con Garci Perez de Vargas.

The

The streets are narrow, and some of them so contracted, that you may touch both walls at the same time. Few are wide enough for carriages; and many, through which coaches pass, shew, by the deep furrows in the walls, that one nave touched, and often both at the same time.

Seville is said to contain eighty thousand two hundred and sixty-eight souls, and is divided into thirty parishes. It has eighty-four convents, with twenty-four hospitals.

Of the public edifices, the first to demand attention is the cathedral, a building of singular magnificence, but admired chiefly for its tower, the work of Güever, the Moor. He made it originally two hundred and fifty feet high, but A. D. 1568, it was raised one hundred more, and is therefore, at present, three hundred and fifty feet. It has no steps, nor are they wanted; because the inclined plain is so easy of ascent, that a horse might trot from the bottom to the top; at the same time it is so spacious, that two horsemen may ride abreast. On the top of this tower is the Giralda, or large brazen image, which, with its palm-branch,

branch, weighs near one ton and an half, yet turns with the slightest variation of the wind.

The dimensions of the cathedral are four hundred and twenty feet, by two hundred and sixty-three; and the height is one hundred and twenty-six. It was built A. D. 1401. It receives light by fourscore windows with painted glass, the work of Arnao of Flanders, each of which cost one thousand ducats.

The treasures of this church are inestimable: one altar is wholly silver, with all its ornaments, as are the images, large as life, of S. Isidore and S. Leander, and a custodia or tabernacle for the host, more than four yards high, adorned with eight and forty columns; yet these are trifling in value, when compared with the gold and precious stones deposited by the piety and zeal of catholics, during the period in which all the wealth of a newly-discovered world flowed into this city. The profusion of gold, of silver, and of gems, would be more striking, were not the attention occupied and lost in admiration of innumerable pictures, the works of those Spanish masters

masters who flourished, immediately after the revival of the art, in Seville. Every chapel preserves some monuments of their superior skill. Of these, the most conspicuous are of Luis de Vargas, and of Fr. Zurbaran, but chiefly of Murillo. By the last is a Nativity in the chapel of the Conception, and, near the baptismal font, S. Anthony of Padua, with the Baptism of Christ. In the principal sacristy, are his much-admired pictures of S. Isidore, with his brother S. Leander; and in another sacristy, his Holy Family, with an Ecce homo by Morales. The chapter-house is wholly devoted to Murillo, and the chapel of S. Peter is given up to Zurbaran. The works of Luis de Vargas are dispersed in various places; but his famous picture, called de la Gamba, is in a chapel near the gate of S. Christopher, and merits particular attention.

To the cathedral belongs a library of twenty thousand volumes, collected by Hernando, son to Christobal Colon, the first discoverer of America, a man of taste, and much admired in his day for learning. It is to be lamented, that modern publications

lications have not been added to complete, what was so well begun by him.

I was much pleased with the construction of a new organ, containing five thousand three hundred pipes, with one hundred and ten stops, which latter, as the builder told me, is fifty more than are in the famous one of Harlem ; yet, so ample are the bellows, that, when stretched, they supply the full organ fifteen minutes. The mode of filling them with air is singular ; for instead of working with his hands, a man walks backwards and forwards along an inclined plain of about fifteen feet in length, which is balanced in the middle on its axis ; under each end is a pair of bellows, of about six feet by three and an half. These communicate with five other pair united by a bar ; and the latter are so contrived, that when they are in danger of being overstrained, a valve is lifted up, and gives them relief. Passing ten times along the inclined plain fills all these vessels.

In the cathedral are eighty-two altars, at which are said daily five hundred masses. The annual consumption is fifteen hundred

dred arrobas of wine, eight hundred of oil, and of wax about one thousand.

The wealth belonging to this chapter may be estimated by the numbers that are supported by it.

The archbishop, with a revenue of three hundred thousand ducats; or, in sterling, nearly thirty-three thousand pounds a year.

Eleven dignitaries, who wear the mitre on high festivals, amply, but not equally, provided for.

Forty canons of forty thousand reals, or about four hundred pounds each, per annum.

Twenty prebendaries, with an income of thirty thousand reals each.

Twenty-one minor canons, at twenty thousand reals each.

Beside these, they have twenty chanters, called Veinteneros, with three assistants, called Sochantrès, two beadles, one master of the ceremonies, with a deputy, three attendants to call the roll and mark the absentees, thirty-six boys for singing and for the service of the altar, with their rector, vice rector, and music masters; nineteen chaplains,

chaplains, four curates, four confessors, twenty-three musicians, and four supernumeraries; in all, two hundred and thirty-five.

Many of the convents are remarkable for the beauty of their architecture; but, in Seville, the eye covets only pictures, and amidst the profusion of these, it overlooks works, which, in other situations, would rivet the attention, and every where fixes on the pencil of Murillo. His most famous performances are in the Hospital de la Caridad, and, suited to the institution, express some act of charity; such as, the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes; the Smiting of the Rock in Horeb; the Pool of Bethesda; the Reception of the returning Prodigal; Abraham addressing the three angels, and pressing them to enter his habitation; the Deliverance of Peter from the Prison; and Charity, in the person of Elizabeth, washing the wounds and curing the diseases of the poor. Beside these, in the same hospital, is the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin; and two little pictures, the one of the infant Jesus, the other of John.

The church of the Capuchins is richly
furnished

furnished with his works ; and, although in these the composition is more simple than in the former, yet they may be considered as some of the best of his productions. Eleven of his pictures are to be seen in a chapel called de la vera Cruz, belonging to the Franciscans. These do much credit to his pencil ; and, not inferior to them, are many preserved in other convents ; such as, an Ecce homo, and the blessed Virgin, with the infant Jesus, in the church of the Carmelites ; the Flight into Egypt, in that of la Merced Calzada ; a rich variety of subjects in S. Maria de la blanca ; and S. Augustin writing, with S. Thomas of Villanueva, stripping himself to clothe the poor, in the convent of the Augustin friars, near the gate of Carmona. In my opinion, the most masterly of all his works is in the refectory of an hospital designed for the reception of superannuated priests. It represents an angel holding a basket to the infant Jesus, who, standing on his mother's lap, takes bread from it to feed three venerable priests. No representation ever approached nearer to real life, nor is it possible to see more expression, than glows upon

that canvass. In the parochial church of Santa Cruz, are two pictures in a superior style, a Stabat Mater dolorosa, which excels in grace and softness; and the famous Descent from the Cross, of Pedro de Campaña, which Murillo was accustomed daily to admire, and opposite to which, by his own directions, he was buried.

This great painter was born A. D. 1618, and died in 1682.

His name stands high in Europe; but to form an adequate idea of his excellence, every convent should be visited, where he deposited the monuments of his superior skill.

In exactness of imitation he was equalled; in clara obscuro, and in reflected lights, he was surpassed by Velazquez; but not one of all the Spanish artists went beyond him in tenderness and softness.

In visiting the convents, and in viewing their pictures, I had the happiness to have for my guide D. Francisco de Bruna, a gentleman distinguished for his judgment and his taste, who had studied the peculiar excellence of every master, and was perfectly acquainted with the merit of each work.

work. He has himself a well-disposed collection of the best Spanish painters, natives of Seville, or educated there; such as, Luis de Vargas, Velazquez, Zurbaran, Valdez, and Murillo, beside many of the Italian and of the Flemish schools.

The house in which they are deposited, and in which he lives, was once the residence of Moorish kings, and, as such, was called *Alcazar*. It is an irregular building, but commodious and pleasantly situated, comprising many large and well-proportioned rooms. But, as it is sufficiently described by travellers, I shall not add to their descriptions. The garden is singular, and, having retained its pristine form, it is meant to serve as a model of the Moorish taste. It is laid out in alleys, with clipped myrtle hedges, and in the middle of the parterres are single trees cut into the form of warriors, with spiked clubs. Its principal fruits are oranges and lemons. The whole of this pleasure-garden, together with the palace and the court-yard, is surrounded by a strong rampart, communicating with, but much higher than, the city wall; and beyond this is an orange-grove of considerable extent.

For the winter and for the spring, there cannot be a more delightful residence.

In speaking of pictures, I have confined myself chiefly to Murillo, because of his superior excellence, and because Seville, the place of his nativity, may be considered as the principal depository of his work. But although eminent, he by no means stands alone. This once famous school, in which the art revived at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when first the treasures of the western continent were brought to Seville, has produced a multitude of good painters. Among these, stand foremost Pedro de Villegas, the father of this school, Luis de Vargas, Velazquez, Herrera, Roelas, Juan de el Castillo, Zurbaran, Francisco Pacheco, Alonso Cano, and Valdez, with many others universally admired.

The works of these great masters, and of various foreigners, as well as of native Spaniards, are to be met with, not only in the churches, but in the houses of the principal inhabitants. Among these, I visited the collections of the marquis of Moscoso, of D. Pedro de Castro, and of D. Donato de Arenzana. In the possession of the latter is, perhaps,

haps, the most perfect representation that was ever painted upon canvass: it is a lamb, by Zurbaran, with which Velazquez was so much struck, that he took the pains to copy it. This I had seen in the possession of D. Fr. de Bruna; but when I had viewed the original, the copy, much as I had before admired it, sunk in my estimation. D. Donato has, beside this, a good head by Morales, a Conception by Guido, a most incomparable portrait of S. Ignatius Loyola by Careño; the Descent from the Cross by Luis de Vargas, and the Death of Abel by Bobadilla.

Of the convents, that which is upon the most extensive scale belongs to the Franciscans. It contains fifteen cloisters, many of which are elegant and spacious, with apartments for two hundred monks; but at present they have only one hundred and forty in their community. These, like all of their order, are fed by charity, and are much favoured by the people. Their annual expenditure is more than four hundred thousand reals, or in sterling about four thousand pounds, amounting to twenty-eight pounds eleven shillings and five pence for each. But

then out of this must be deducted the expence of wine, oil, and wax, with the alms distributed daily to the poor, which all together is considerable.

Not one of the convents is equally frequented as this, more especially during the forty days of Lent. In the principal cloister, which is intirely inclosed by a multitude of little chapels, are represented, in fourteen pictures, each called a *station*, all the sufferings of the Redeemer. These are so arranged as to mark given distances by walking round the cloister from the first to the second, and so in order to the rest. Over them is mentioned the number of steps taken by our Lord between the several incidents of his passion in his way to Calvary, and these precisely are the paces measured for the penitents in their progress from one station to another. Over one is the following inscription: " This station
 " consists of 1,087 steps. Here the blessed
 " Redeemer fell a second time under the
 " weight of his cross, and here is to be
 " gained the indulgence of seven years and
 " forty quarantines. Mental prayer, the
 " Paternoster and the Ave Maria." This
 may

may serve as an example for the rest. I observed men, women, and children, rich and poor, going their rounds, some solitary, others in little groups, repeating aloud their Latin prayers, and kneeling at every station in regular succession.

Among all the hospitals I was most pleased with that of *la Sangre*, designed for the reception of female patients. The front is elegant, and the sculpture is much to be admired, more especially the three figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity. The wards are spacious, and the whole is remarkable for neatness.

Were I inclined to enlarge in my descriptions of the public buildings, the Torre del Oro, the Plaza de Toros, the Aqueduct with its four hundred and ten arches, but more especially the Exchange, would afford me ample scope. The latter, planned by Herrera (A. D. 1598,) and worthy of its great architect, is a quadrangle of two hundred feet, with a corridor or spacious gallery round it, adorned with Ionic columns, and supported by an equal number of Doric.

The university was founded in the year 1502, and soon rose into consideration. The

name of Arias Montanus, who lies buried at the convent of S. Jago, is alone sufficient to give celebrity to this seminary. His translation of the holy Scriptures will be valued by the learned, as long as the Scriptures themselves shall be the objects of veneration to mankind. The number of under-graduates here is about five hundred.

We meet at Seville with the favourite institutions of Count Campomanes, his academy for the three noble arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and his oeconomic society of the friends of their country. Both these have been attended with success, and have given assistance not only to the arts, but to agriculture, to manufactures, and to commerce. About two hundred pupils attend the former.

The principal manufacture is snuff. To this I paid particular attention. The edifice, elegant and simple in its form, is about six hundred feet by four hundred and eighty, and not less than sixty feet in height, with four regular fronts, inclosing twenty-eight quadrangles. It cost thirty-seven millions of reals, or about three hundred and seventy thousand pounds. At present, no more than

than seventeen hundred workmen are employed, and one hundred horses or mules; but formerly, three thousand men were engaged, and near four hundred horses. This falling off is attributed to mismanagement, and to the reluctance with which they consented to destroy their damaged tobacco. They have now changed this system; and, not many days before my arrival, they condemned to the flames fifteen thousand pounds weight as unfit for use. Yet the high price of the commodity restrains the sale; for, since they raised the tobacco from thirty to forty reals, that is, from about six to eight shillings a pound, the demand has gradually lessened. From the year 1780, the annual sale has been, of tobacco from Brazil, one million five hundred thousand pounds, purchased from the Portuguese, at three reals a pound; and of snuff, from the produce of their own colonies, one million six hundred thousand pounds, beside cigars to a very considerable amount. They have lying by them, more than five millions of snuff unfold; but, as it will not suffer by age, they are not uneasy at this accumulation. Beside the peculiar kind of snuff, with
which

which Spain was accustomed to supply the market, they have lately introduced the manufacture of rappee. There was a necessity for this, in order to put a stop to an illicit trade; for whilst the king was selling at fixty, and sometimes at fourscore reals a pound, the smugglers sold the same commodity at forty, having themselves purchased it in France, from the farmers of tobacco, at fifteen; but, now that government sells good rappee at twenty-four reals, the smuggler's profit will not compensate for the risk. In this branch alone are employed, at present, two hundred and twenty people, old and young, with sixteen mules; but they mean to push their trade, when they can get a sufficient quantity of tobacco, and to engage five times as many hands. The operations are so numerous before the rappee is fit for market, that they require a multitude of workmen. Whilst some are employed to unbind the little bundles of tobacco, others are occupied in picking the leafy substance from the hard stems. Some are engaged in dying, others either in straining and pressing, or in spinning the leaf into ropes, and winding it up into rollers to be

be faggoted and pressed, till a parcel of eighteen inches long, and two and an half inches in diameter, will weigh six pounds. These operations being finished, it is laid in heaps to sweat nine months; after which, it is cut and sifted, then grated, once more sifted, and finally packed up in canisters for sale.

All the workmen deposit their cloaks at the door, and, when they go out, are so strictly examined, that they have little chance of being able to conceal tobacco; yet they sometimes venture to hide it about their persons. An officer and a guard is always attending to take delinquents into custody; and, that they may prevent resistance, no workman is permitted to enter with a knife. Were it not for this precaution, the consequence of a detection might be fatal.

The whole business is conducted by a director, with a salary of forty thousand reals a year, and fifty-four superior officers, assisted by as many subordinate to them.

For grinding their snuff, they have forty mills, each consisting of a stone-roller, moved by a large horse, or mule, with the
traces

traces fastened to a beam of eight feet in length, in the angle of forty-five degrees, consequently losing precisely half his force. I endeavoured to explain this to the officer who conducted me through the works, but he could not comprehend it. He is brother to the unfortunate young woman, who, in the year 1774, at S. Lucar, bled before the altar, a victim to the unhallowed passion, with which her beauty had inspired the priest. This wretch, whilst receiving her confessions, had declared himself her lover; but, at last, enraged at the obstinate resistance of a virtuous mind, he turned his back upon the altar, where he had been partaking of the consecrated bread, and stabbed her, in the presence of her mother. For this most atrocious of all crimes, he was—shocking to relate!—suffered to live in banishment at Porto Rico.

The silk manufacture was formerly considerable in Seville. When Ferdinand III. surnamed *el Santo*, (in the year 1248) entered the city, he found, as it is said, sixteen thousand looms, which employed a hundred and thirty thousand persons; and such was the population of the city, that the Moors,

Moors, who left it when it was surrendered to the Christians, were four hundred thousand, beside multitudes who died during a sixteen months siege, and many who remained after their fellow citizens were gone.

Alfonzo, surnamed el Sabio, seeing the importance of this manufacture, gave it every possible encouragement; and, trade being chiefly confined to Seville, on the first discovery of America; (A. D. 1519,) they once more reckoned sixteen thousand looms; but the millones, imposed at the latter end of the reign of Philip II. to defray the expence of his wars, gave a shock to commerce, and the frequent alteration in the relative value of their money, with the expulsion of the Moors, almost ruined this once wealthy city. Added to this, in the year 1649 more than two hundred thousand persons died of an epidemical disease in Spain. In consequence of these misfortunes, (A. D. 1655,) there remained only sixty looms in Seville. After the accession of a new family, the weavers amounted (A. D. 1713,) to four hundred and five: but in the year 1721, the farmers of the tax

tax on silk having collected with rigour the fourteen per cent. for the alcavala and cientos, they not only ruined the manufacture, but reduced the revenue from eight hundred thousand reals to less than sixteen thousand. Philip, however, giving attention to this important business, trade revived, and (A. D. 1732) the looms amounted to one thousand. War with England reduced them suddenly, and A. D. 1739 they were only a hundred and forty. Since the remonstrances of Bernardo de Ulloa, (A. D. 1740) the taxes have no longer been left to the rapacity of farmers, the alcavala has been taken off; and, by the last account, the looms amounted to four hundred and sixty-two for wide silks, with one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six for other purposes. Each loom is allowed annually, if for wide work, a hundred pounds of silk duty free; if for narrow, they receive four-score.

Whenever the navigation of the river shall be restored to the condition, in which it was when Magellan with five ships sailed from hence for those straits, which have been called by his name; and when freedom,

dom, civil and religious, shall once more lift up her head in Spain; new channels will be opened for reviving commerce, and Seville will be restored to her ancient splendor.

The art of tanning is perhaps no where so ill conducted as in Spain; in no part of which can good leather be procured, unless it come from England. Sensible of this, the minister of finance became anxious to induce some stranger, skilful in the business, to take up his residence in Spain. Whilst he had this idea in his mind, chance threw in his way a tradesman travelling to receive orders, and to get in debts for himself and partners, who, as leather-cutters, have a shop on Snow-hill, in London. It immediately occurred to the minister, that he had found his man; and therefore, sending for him, without loss of time, he invited him to settle as a currier and a tanner. This gentleman, conscious to himself that he was not properly qualified to conduct a business, to which he had not been bred, withstood his solicitations, and refused the most advantageous terms: but at length, after considering the matter in every point of

of view, he accepted the offer, and consented to establish himself at Seville. I visited his tan-yard, and found him happy in the protection he enjoys. The minister has given him the convent of the Jesuits, and about seven acres of good land, rent free, with the pre-emption of hides from Buenos Ayres, and of all skins from the Spanish settlements; beside the privilege of cutting down, for bark, all the trees growing, either in the royal forests, or on the lands of private persons, within a given distance of the city. He uses the inner bark taken from the cork-tree, with myrtle leaves, which serve his purpose tolerably well; yet are by no means equal in strength to the bark of oak. He says, that the Spaniards understand the art of tanning; but that they want spirit, industry, and capital for such extensive undertakings; and I am inclined to think, that his observation is well founded. Finding him a man of activity, with a command of money, the minister has given him a contract to furnish boots and belts for the cavalry, and a variety of other articles, such as spurs and buckles, not connected with his peculiar trade.

trade. He is certainly a treasure to the Spaniards, both for application and for weight of capital, and, I have no doubt, will push this new establishment as far as it can go, provided government shall continue to protect him.

Having been introduced to D. Juan Alvarez, the intendant of the *mint*, I visited his office, in which at present a few workmen find occasional employment; whereas formerly one hundred and eighty were constantly engaged. They have here the same slow process as at London and in Paris, in consequence of which their coinage is expensive; whilst in Birmingham the operation, by a new invention, is expedited, and performed at a trifling expence.

In traversing the streets, I was struck with the multitude of beggars clothed in rags; and was at first inclined to attribute this to the decay of trade; but, upon examination, I found a more abiding cause in the distribution of alms at the archbishop's palace, and at the gates of twenty convents, daily, and without distinction, to all who make application for relief. Such misplaced benevolence is a bar to industry, and

multiplies the objects of distress, whose numbers bear exact proportion to the provision made for their support. To have this principle rightly understood is of such importance, that I can never let one opportunity escape of bringing it into view.

My time passed away pleasantly at Seville. The mornings I employed in viewing whatever was most worthy of attention in the city, or in little excursions to the country. At noon I paid my respects to the good archbishop, dined and took the Siesta at his palace; after which I sometimes went out in the carriage with his grace, at other times joined the company in the Alameda, or public walk; and closed the day either with the archbishop, or in the family of some cheerful friend. The season of Lent is not favourable to gaiety, because it does not admit of the usual diversions; yet I had always reason to be satisfied with my evening's entertainment. The archbishop received only gentlemen for conversation. In other houses they have generally some round game at cards; but the family, in which I delighted most, was that of a canon, for whose sister I had

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the honour to be consulted as a physician. The case was highly interesting; an epilepsy, arising from extreme sensibility; and I pleased myself with the idea, that I was useful to her. My recompence was to enjoy her conversation, and to hear her sing.

In one of my morning visits at the archbishop's palace, I had the satisfaction of being present at an opposition, or disputation, between the candidates for a vacant benefice; a scene admirably described, by the author of *Gil Blas*. Vehemence, on such an occasion, is not only sanctioned by custom, but is certainly excusable, in men who are contending, not merely for fame, but bread. The judges are the diocesan, assisted by six of the chapter; and the examinations are in the sciences, ethics, divinity, and canon law. Many ecclesiastical preferments are disposed of in this way. Thus in every cathedral four canons are chosen by opposition, and are said to be *de merito*; these are, the penitentiary, for receiving the confessions of the chapter; the preacher; the professor of theology; and the civilian, who conducts their law-suits. The rest are given through favour, either

by the dioceſan, the chapter, or the king, according to the month in which the vacancy happens.

When a candidate makes application to the great, either for protection in general, or upon a ſpecial occaſion for preferment, he preſents a printed copy of his memorial, ſtiled “ *Relacion de los Meritos, titulos, grados y exercicios, literarios de A. B.*” of which the original is lodged with the ſecretary of ſtate, and contains his name; the place of his nativity; his rank; his age; the univerſity, in which he ſtudied, with the degrees he has taken; his acquirements; his conduct in his profeſſion, as a prieſt, as a preacher, and as a confeſſor; ſetting forth his regularity, his zeal, and his ſucceſs, with his peculiar privileges, ſuch as that he is permitted to read the prohibited books, and to confeſs both ſexes; and ſtating, finally, that he is every way qualified to receive any eccleſiaſtical preferment to which he may be preſented.

One day, when I was at the archbiſhop’s palace, the old librarian took me aſide, and requeſted me to make application for him to obtain a living then vacant, and in the gift of the crown, deſiring me to write immedi-

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ately to count Florida Blanca, and to inclose his *Relacion de meritos*. This, I remember, stated, in the list of his acquirements, that he had learnt Hebrew, that he had been examined in the verbs, but that he had never been rich enough to purchase a lexicon. I made the application through our minister, and obtained the promise of a living for him; but not that for which he then solicited.

Not far from the city is a building, now verging to decay, near to which I often passed, without asking for what it was designed; but, one evening, walking with the gentleman to whom I had been recommended by count Florida Blanca, struck with its form, I desired him to tell me what purpose it had served. At first he seemed to pay no attention; but, upon my repeating the question, I received an evasive answer, such as tended only to awaken my curiosity, and to make me more urgent with him for information. At last he told me, that this strange kind of edifice is called *el Quemadero*; but begged that I would never disclose to any one, from whom I had received my information. The name was sufficient, together with the form, without further inquiries,

inquiries, to explain the horrid use to which it had been too often put. I urged him no further on the subject; and, without loss of time, hastened from a spot which my imagination painted all in flames. The next day, however, I returned with one of the judges, who, as such, could venture to be more communicative. In answer to my questions, he informed me, that the *Que-madero*, so called from the verb *quemar*, to burn, served the purpose of a scaffold for burning heretics; and that, about four years before, a woman had suffered on it, by a sentence of the inquisition, to which he had given his sanction. From him, and from others, I obtained the following particulars. This woman was a *beata*, professing one of the three vows imposed on nuns, of which, poverty and obedience are the regular companions; yet that vow she broke. In the accusation she was charged with having corrupted her confessor; who, poor man! as the least culpable of the two, was merely banished. Had this been her sole offence, it had been punished with less distinguished severity; but, not satisfied with having been guilty of sacrilege in one instance,

instance, she went on corrupting the priesthood; and, either from passion or from vanity, extended daily, over the servants of the altar, the dominion of her charms; till, either by pride, or by remorse of conscience, she lost her understanding, and foolishly imagined that she was acting under a divine authority. Some say, that she vindicated her conduct upon the principle, that both parties were free from obligation; but others, and more justly, say, that she pretended to have seen an angel. This being a crime within the cognizance of the inquisitors, she was brought to trial, was convicted, and was burnt.

Excited by this narration, I had the curiosity to visit the court of the inquisition. It was formerly a convent of the Jesuits, and is so light and elegant, that I could scarcely conceive it to contain the dreadful tribunal and gloomy dungeons. I went into the chapel, and the hall of judgment, and ventured to ask some questions; but could obtain no answer: silence and solitude seemed to have established their dominion there.

The inquisition is certainly less formidable now, since light is every where diffused,

than it was in darker ages, when superstition reigned; and the inquisitors of the present day, if not more humane, are at least more humble, than their predecessors in remoter periods. Yet we must confess, that, whilst their authority remains, it will be ever subject to abuse. Every one knows the history and the fate of Don Pablo Olavidé. The real cause of his disgrace, was neither his impiety nor his immorality, but his hatred of the monks; who, in return, became his implacable enemies, and never ceased to persecute him, till they had banished him from Spain. They never could forget, that in the Sierra Morena he had built his house precisely on the spot where had stood a convent, a convent which served as an asylum for the robbers, with whom the venerable fathers had been accustomed to divide their plunder. Nor could they forgive his having made it a fundamental law of his new settlements, that they should have no monks. Unfortunately, he had married a rich woman, who was neither young nor handsome, and, by her means, the monks became acquainted with such circumstances as might have
otherwise

otherwise escaped them, and were enabled to treasure up against him every unguarded expression, which at any time escaped his lips. This valuable citizen was taken out of his bed, the 14th of November, 1776, and, after being shut up twelve months in the prison of the inquisition, his sentence was publicly read; all his effects were confiscated for the use of the inquisitors his judges, and he was condemned to eight years confinement in a convent.

It must be confessed, that in the person of Olavidé, the inquisitors flew at noble game; but, a few years after this, they resembled the eagle, when she stoops to feed on carrion. The history of this transaction is worthy to be recorded. I shall, therefore, give it from the relation of one who was present at the Auto de Fé, celebrated in the conventual church of S. Domingo, in Madrid, the 9th of May, 1784, when the whole process was publicly read.

The principal actor in this farce was Ignacio Rodriguez, a beggar. The first profession of this man was arms; but of his conduct in that line little has transpired.

pired. It is certain, that he was with count O'Reilly in the unfortunate expedition against Algiers, where he was wounded in the leg. In consequence of this he was discharged as an invalid, and had an offer of the usual pension; but he chose rather to cast himself on the public, and to enjoy his liberty, than to be lost in obscurity with his companions. For this purpose, he was careful to keep his wound from healing; and, such was his address, that he procured a comfortable living, or rather, as it appeared, fared sumptuously every day.

After some years, he was so unfortunate as to attract the attention of D. Bernardo Cantero, the intendant general of the police, who, seeing him from day to day, inquired for what reason he kept his wound open, and ordered him to have it healed. Rodriguez, not knowing to whom he spoke, replied with insolence, "I ask alms, and not advice." This ill-timed answer proved his ruin.

The intendant, struck with his appearance, and offended with his insolence, watched him, and having observed something uncommon in a long conversation between
between

between him and a female, called Juliana Lopez, caused her to be followed, and arrested. This woman, although artful, being taken by surprise, was confused, and soon confessed, that the paper she had delivered to the beggar contained some materials for making love powder. On this evidence Rodriguez was taken into custody, with a female named Angela Barrios, who, being a woman of inferior talents, acted under them, and was employed only in commissions of no great importance. All three being committed to the common jail, were frequently questioned, and the result of their examination was laid before the king, who, by the advice of his confessor, referred the matter to the inquisitors. In consequence of this the prisoners were removed, and confined in the prison of the inquisition.

No tribunal has such advantages in tracing out the truth, nor can any other investigate a dark transaction with such a certainty of success as this court. Unfettered by forms, and not limited for time, they are at liberty to bring whom they please before them, to take them from their beds in
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the middle of the night, to examine them by surprise, to terrify their imaginations, to torment their bodies, to stretch them on the rack, and to cross examine them at distant periods. With these advantages, the impostor was made to confess the whole of his practices, with all the most minute particulars, and the names of the parties to whom he had sold his powder. He explained, in his confession, the materials of which he had composed it; but these, to a modest ear, should never have been mentioned; and he acknowledged, that every female, after taking it, had been obliged to grant him whatever he chose to ask, without which the charm was to have no effect. Whenever he administered it, he muttered some necromantic formula, that he might give an air of mystery to the transaction, and inspire the mind with confidence in its success.

Juliana Lopez, his associate, served him as an emissary and a panegyrist; and that she might in all respects lend herself to his views and to his wishes, she hired a convenient garden, to which he might retire at all seasons, whenever it suited his convenience.

Angela

Angela Barrios acted as a servant to the others, and being of a weak understanding, was never admitted to their confidence. Fidelity and silence on her part were sometimes however requisite, and in these she never failed.

The process, according to custom, contained the most minute particulars. Their crimes were proved by a multitude of testimonies, and their guilt was confirmed by their own confessions. From these it appeared, that his powder was administered to persons of all ranks; and one of the inquisitors has since informed me, that many ladies of high fashion in Madrid were duped by him, although out of tenderness their names had been concealed.

When the process was gone through, the judges resolved to celebrate an Auto de Fé publicly in the church of the Padres del Salvador, but the king would not consent, that the nuns of S. Domingo should lose their privilege of having the Auto in their church. The inquisitors gave way, but sent a request, that the nuns might not be admitted to the grate, lest their ears should be offended, and the purity of their
 imagina-

imagination should be defiled. This message had the effect, which might have been expected. Their curiosity was the more excited, and of all the nuns four only were absent from the grate.

On the day appointed, at six in the morning, the people began to assemble in the street of the inquisition, and the troops took their station to preserve good order. About eight the beggar left his dungeon, leaning on his crutches, and attended by a capuchin friar of no respectable appearance, named Father Cardenas. As soon as he appeared in court, he fell upon his knees before one of the inquisitors, who with the greatest mildness and gentleness addressed him thus: “ My son, you are going to
 “ hear the relation of your crimes, and the
 “ sentence pronounced for the expiation
 “ of your guilt. Our lenity is great, be-
 “ cause our holy tribunal, always most in-
 “ dulent, seeks rather to reform than
 “ punish. Let your sorrow flow from
 “ your consciousness of guilt, and not from
 “ a sense of the disgrace you suffer.”

This exhortation ended, which is the same, even when the criminal is committed
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to the flames, they proceeded to throw over the shoulders of the beggar his *fan benito*, or more properly his *saco bendito*, being the sackcloth with S. Andrew's cross, anciently worn by penitents. On his head they placed the cap with serpents, lizards, and blackbeetles, a green candle in his hand, and round his neck a halter. To Juliana Lopez the same speech was made, and when she had been clothed in similar attire, she stood, although not with equal confidence, near to her companion.

Last of all came forth Angela Barrios, who, trembling and bathed in tears, fell down upon her knees, and begged the inquisitors to spare her life. She was answered, that the holy tribunal was not accustomed to put any one to death; that they would do her no harm; and that as her offence was not equal to that of her companions, they had not even provided for her a *fan benito*, the disgraceful badge, by which all, who have worn it, are rendered, with their families, infamous for ever.

When every thing was thus arranged, the procession began to move. In front marched soldiers to clear the way; then appeared

peared the standard of the holy office, supported by alguazils, and followed by familiars, with the learned doctors of the inquisition; next advanced the beggar, supported by his crutches, and attended by two secretaries, who carried the whole process in a box lined with velvet; and the little capuchin, as confessor, with the Marquis of Cogolludo, son to the Duke of Medina Cœli, of the blood royal, and the first nobleman in Spain, as alguazil mayor, brought up the rear.

No sooner had the pageant entered the church than mass began; after which they read the process in the hearing of the whole assembly, which consisted of the principal nobility, with all the ladies of the court, who had been invited by la Marquesa de Cogolludo, and sat with her on a stage raised for this occasion.

The secretaries were frequently interrupted in reading by loud bursts of laughter, in which the beggar joined. The mirth was, however, in some breasts, attended with a degree of trepidation, when in the process circumstances were related, in which ladies who were present, had been concerned,

concerned, and who expected every moment to be named.

After the whole of the process had been read, the chief inquisitor rang a little bell, and the prisoners drew nigh to hear their sentence. That of Ignacio Rodriguez was, to be whipped through the streets of Madrid, to be instructed and fortified in the mysteries of the catholic faith by a spiritual guide appointed by the court, with whom he was to go through holy exercises for one month, fasting on the Fridays on bread and water; and at the end of this period he was to make a general confession. He was to be five years shut up in the penitentiary house of Toledo, and afterwards to be banished for ever from Madrid and from the royal mansions, with an obligation to inform the holy office wherever he should happen to reside. The sentence of the other was not so severe.

The whole ceremony ended about three in the afternoon.

The day following, the beggar, naked down to his waist, was mounted on an ass, attended by the Marquis of Cogolludo. Thus accompanied, the impostor was con-

ducted through the streets, but without receiving any stripes; and as he proceeded, he was frequently refreshed by his friends with biscuits and wine; whilst many, who knew not the nature of his offence, thinking him a heretic, cried out, *viva la Virgen, viva Maria purissima*, to which he replied, *por mi que viva*.

This ceremony ended, the Marchioness of Cogolludo gave a grand entertainment to the judges and officers of the inquisition.

Had it been the intention of the king to make the inquisition, preparatory to its abolition, contemptible in the eyes of the whole nation, he could not have taken any step more effectual for the purpose, than he did, when he called upon that tribunal to examine into offences, which should have been infinitely below its notice, and to appear in the procession with a wretch, who should have been punished in secret by the vilest minister of justice.

Others have given the history of this execrable tribunal, both as to its origin and progress, together with the form of its proceedings, and cruel treatment of its prisoners.

soners. Upon these particulars I shall be silent; but I must observe that the original inquisition, armed with dreadful powers, under the appellation of the Spiritual Court, still exists in England; where, as in Spain, the poor suffer most by the abuse of its authority. The serpent with us appears to have lost its venom: it is torpid, but not dead, and should, at any future period, our government be changed; it may revive, and be as destructive to our children as it has already been to our progenitors.

In the vicinity of Seville is a curious monument of antiquity, the amphitheatre of Italica, highly worthy the attention of all, who are fond of such remains, but to me they were little interesting. It is an oval of two hundred and ninety-one feet by two hundred and four. If we may judge of Italica by the extent of its ruins, it was a considerable city, and although so little now is to be seen above the surface of the soil, yet we know that formerly it was a bishop's see, and prior to that period, it gave birth to Trajan, to Adrian, and to Theodosius.

The country round the city to a consi-

derable distance lies so low, that it is frequently overflowed, and upon some occasions the water has been eight feet high, even in their habitations. The soil is rich, and being at the same time very deep, its fertility is inexhaustible. The produce is corn, leguminous plants, hemp, flax, lemons, oranges and liquorice. The quantity of this exported from Spain is said to be annually not less than four thousand quintals, or nearly two hundred tons, a considerable part of which is supposed to be purchased by the porter-brewers in London. Could they be prevailed upon to omit the *coccus indicus*, they might be permitted to use the liquorice without restraint.

I had the curiosity to make inquiries at the custom-house in London, where I found that the principal marts for this produce were formerly Italy and French Flanders, but that of late the importation from Spain has rapidly increased, and that from being only two tons seventeen hundred weight three quarters and sixteen pounds, in the year 1785, it became fifty-eight tons three hundred weight one quarter and fourteen

teen pounds, in the year 1788. The whole quantity imported, I found to be as follows:

		Tons.	Cwt.	Q ^{rs} .	lb.
1785, into London and the					
out-ports	—	109	14	3	18
1786, ditto	—	150	2	3	14
1787, ditto	—	128	19	0	16
1788, ditto	—	183	1	0	17

In this period the proportion of the out-ports has increased from twenty-four tons eleven hundred weight two quarters and twenty-five pounds, to fifty-five tons fourteen hundred weight two quarters and fifteen pounds. From which circumstance we may collect, that London has taught the country brewers the use of this innocent and pleasant drug in making porter.

In consequence of vapours and miasmata, occasioned by stagnant water, and by frequent floods, the inhabitants of Seville and its neighbourhood are subject to tertians, to putrid fevers, and to hysterical disorders. The pre-disposition to such diseases may be likewise sought for in the quantity of cucumbers and melons consumed by them all the year, in consequence of which they are

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likewise infested with worms, accompanied with epilepsies, especially in the more youthful subjects. This connection I have frequently had occasion to observe; and, from this circumstance, I comprehend the principle on which an able physician is mentioned, in the *London Practice of Physic*, to have ordered the powder of tin, in a case of epilepsy. Yet, I must acknowledge a suspicion, that the compiler of that valuable work, who appears to have been some old apothecary in extensive practice, did not discover, at the time when he made a memorandum of the case, that the physician was then prescribing to the occasional cause, and not to the disease. The skill of a practitioner is discerned, not merely by his readiness in distinguishing diseases, but by his attention to their pre-disposing causes. The empiric, often satisfied with prescribing to the symptom, is liable to be fatally mistaken in his distinctions, and never attempts to investigate the cause. Hence it is, that the publication of formulæ, such as those to which I have referred, will never be useful to him, or indeed to any one, who has not been regularly
bred

bred to the profession. The science of physic is not so easily acquired as some have imagined, and have been taught to think by physicians, who, with the appearance of disinterestedness and candour, have published their systems of domestic medicine. To distinguish diseases, and to investigate their cause, requires much knowledge, deep reflection, and a natural sagacity, to be improved by reading, and by extensive practice. Even the most skilful and attentive are sometimes mistaken; and at this we shall not be surpris'd, if we consider the vast variety of diseases, to which the human frame is subject. The bare inspection of any system of nosology will be sufficient to convince a reasonable man that the science is abstruse. In the *Nosologia Methodica* of Sauvage, we find ten classes, forty-three orders, and more than three hundred genera, in many of which are from ten to twenty species, each distinguished from the other, and denominated by its occasional cause. Dr. Cullen has indeed reduced the number both of genera and species, by considering many of them as symptomatic of other diseases, and not as idiopa-

thic ; yet even this distinction shews more clearly the abstruseness of the science, and how liable they must be, who are not perfectly instructed, to make mistakes. I have dwelt upon this subject, from a firm persuasion, that “systems of domestic medicine” have done much mischief to mankind, and that the most dangerous idea, which can be impressed upon the mind is, that “every man may be his own physician.” In a country like Spain, a person not bred to the profession may be reduced to the necessity of prescribing to his neighbours ; but in England, this practice, unless in the clearest cases, is much to be condemned.

I have mentioned the diseases incident to the inhabitants of Seville, arising from humidity ; but others there are which originate in heat. Whenever they have the Solano wind, that is, whenever the wind blows from Africa, they become liable to pleurifies ; but what is chiefly complained of, both by physicians and by magistrates, is an irritability of nerves, influencing the morals in a variety of ways.

Before I quitted Seville, according to my usual practice, I enquired into the price of labour

labour and provisions. They are as follow :

Day labourers, four reals and an half, or about $10\frac{3}{4}d.$

Carpenters, from seven to eleven reals a day.

Joiners, if good workmen, twenty-four reals, or $4s. 9d.$

Weavers, with diligence, will earn fifteen reals, or $3s.$

Bread, from sixteen to twenty-eight quartos, or $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $7\frac{7}{8}d.$ for three pounds of sixteen ounces.

Beef, thirty quartos for thirty-two ounces, or about $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ a pound of sixteen ounces.

Mutton, thirty-eight quartos ditto, or $5\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}d.$ ditto.

Kid, twenty-four quartos ditto, or $3\frac{3}{8}d.$ ditto.

Pork, thirty-six to forty-two quartos ditto, or $5\frac{1}{6}d.$ to $5\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{2}d.$ ditto.

A. D. 1731, the whole consumption of flesh in Seville was one million seven hundred ninety-two thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds ; of which the ecclesiastics had eight hundred eleven thousand

land and ninety-one pounds, free from taxes; the pounds being here of thirty-two ounces, or two pounds each avoirdupois.

The price of wheat, at different periods, and at different seasons of the year, has been so remarkable, that I shall subjoin a table.

Price of the Fanega of Wheat at Seville.

A. D.	Months.	Reals.	A. D.	Months.	Reals.
1652.	April	80 to 120	1752.	April	38.
	July	42 to 45		July	25 to 33
1655.	April	14 to 20	1755.	April	16 to 22
	July	13 to 17		July	13 to 18
1657.	April	11 to 18	1757.	April	25 to 29
	July	16 to 23		July	18 to 27
1660.	April	45 to 53	1760.	April	29 to 36
	July	22 to 27		July	30 to 37
1661.	April	17 to 22	1761.	April	30 to 37
	July	21 to 28		July	24 to 32

If we reckon the fanega at one hundred and nine pounds and an half, and the bushel at seventy, then the highest price, A. D. 1652, will be equal to 15s. $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ the bushel, and the lowest price, A. D. 1657, to 1s. $4\frac{1}{2}d.$

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In the corresponding periods, as taken from Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the highest price is 7s. 6d. and the lowest 3s. 9d. Had the commerce of corn been unrestrained, the price in Spain could never have varied in such wide extremes, to the destruction of manufactures.

When I had satisfied my curiosity at Seville, and had resolved next to visit Cadiz, I sent and hired the cabin of a passage-boat, which was to leave the city in the evening, and falling down the Guadalquivir, was to arrive in about six and thirty hours at S. Lucar.

The common price for every passenger is eight reals, or about 1s. 7d. but for the whole cabin I paid twenty reals, or a hard dollar, being a small fraction under four shillings sterling. In this I had no great bargain, because my apartment was not more than six feet by five, and about three feet high. My only comfort was, that I could stretch myself at night upon a bear skin, and saw myself by day separated from a multitude, some of whom were not remarkable for cleanliness.

Among the rabble, I observed a young
Franciscan

Franciscan friar, and a genteel French merchant, who by no means seemed to be satisfied with their situation. At the closing of the day, the whole assembly joined in the Ave Maria, our young friar taking the lead, and distinguishing himself by the strength and melody of his voice; after which he entertained the company with some good *sequidillas*, *tiranas*, and other Spanish songs. I was so well satisfied with his voice and manner, that in the morning I invited him to my cabin, and was delighted to find in him a pleasant and conversable companion.

The wind was favourable, the sky was clear, and the course being nearly in one straight line, little attention was required to the helm. In such circumstances it was not to be wondered at, that our Palinurus, who had been watching all the night, should be inclined to nod by day. But whilst sleep had taken possession of his eye-lids, his attention seemed to be awake, for when at any time, by the shifting of the wind, either the direction or degree of pressure of the helm was varied, he instantly moved his hand, and even before he opened his eyes, he

he put the vessel right. Thus it is respecting sounds. No noise, however violent, rouses those who are accustomed to hear it; but, if it be unusual, or if it be such as would call them to action when awake, although moderate, it makes them start: thus it seems as if the soul was capable of exercising judgment during sleep.

The country all the way, for the space of twenty leagues between Seville and S. Lucar, is flat, the soil is deep, and the pastures are covered with a perpetual verdure.

In this little voyage I was so well pleased with my young friar, that I bore his expences, agreed to take him for my companion and my guide as far as Cadiz; and, such was the confidence I reposed in him, that when we had landed on the beach, and taken horses to S. Lucar, I committed my baggage to his care, whilst I hastened to pay my compliments to our consul; but, to my astonishment, on my return, I found that I had been cherishing a thief. He would have made an apology; but, as I wanted no explanation, when I had ocular demonstration, I took my leave, without reproaching

reproaching his ingratitude; and hiring horses, I made the best of my way towards Cadiz.

The country is hilly, the soil at a lower level, and near the sea, is sand; but all the intermediate space is a stiff clay, and the road is abominably bad. The distance is six leagues.

About mid-way I counted twenty teams of oxen tilling one piece of land. The plough is by no means suited to the soil, having no fin to the share, no coulter, nor any mould-board; but, instead of the latter, two wooden pins. This, in light sand, may answer very well, but is certainly little calculated to subdue a stubborn clay. The highest of the hills, exposed to the meridian sun, have vines, and the scene is often beautifully varied by extensive plantations of the olive.

As soon as I arrived at Puerto de Santa *Maria*, I enquired for the passage-boat to Cadiz. They informed me at the posada, that no wherry would pass that day. I, however, pressed forward to the beach, where I was soon surrounded by a number of watermen, who all assured me, that I
was

was come too late for the common passage-boat, but that for two hard dollars I might have a vessel to myself. Unwilling to be detained all day, I agreed, and was conducted to a boat half filled with passengers, and, after waiting near an hour for the full complement, we set sail. As the wind was fair, we soon made our passage; and, on quitting the boat, I had the mortification to see each person pay two reals, or four pence halfpenny, instead of two hard dollars, or eight shillings; but it was to no purpose to complain.

C A D I Z.

TH E city of Cadiz occupies a promontory at the extremity of a peninsula, and is joined to the isle of Leon only by a causeway. It is washed to the eastward by the gentle waves of a well protected road; but, to the westward, it is open and exposed to the fury of the ocean.

The streets are narrow, yet well paved and clean. The most beautiful part of the city looks towards the *Puerto de Santa Maria*, where the houses are lofty, built of white free-stone, and ornamented with painted balconies. They have in front a wide parade, well gravelled, planted with trees, and communicating with the sea-road, where the merchantmen and ships of war find shelter.

Two considerable squares, one for the market, the other called *Plaza de San Antonio*, with the *Calle Ancha* joining to it by way of mall, contribute both to beauty and to health; and the whole city being nearly surrounded by a rampart, this forms an elevated, airy, and delightful walk, much frequented in the evenings.

The most advantageous view of Cadiz and its environs may be had from the signal tower: from whence you look immediately down upon the houses, whose flat roofs, covered with a white cement, have a singular yet most pleasing appearance. To the westward, you command the ocean, with numerous vessels, some stretching away, others entering the harbour; and, on the land side, you discover the four interesting sea-port towns of Rota, Santa Maria, Port Royal, and Caraca, with the isle of Leon, and the connecting causeway, whilst a rich country, hanging towards the setting sun, bounds the distant prospect.

They reckon now in Cadiz, not more than sixty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven souls; but, about ten years since, it is said to have contained eighty-

five thousand, beside about twenty thousand people who entered daily from the sea, and from the adjacent country.

For their pavements, for the cleanliness of their streets, for a well regulated police, for some of their best edifices, and for many wise institutions, they have been indebted to their late governor, Count O'Reilly. Previous to his appointment, this city was remarkable for filth and nastiness; and from the mistaken clemency of Bucarelli, the former governor, robberies were frequently committed, murders were not uncommon, and such was the insolence of thieves, that they gave public warning to the inhabitants, not to make a noise when they should be stopped.

The most distinguished buildings are the two cathedrals, one ancient, the other not yet finished. The former is chiefly remarkable for some good pictures, and for its treasures, consisting of jems, silver candlesticks and lamps, both numerous and bulky; three custodias, one of which, constructed of the finest silver, weighs fifty-one arrobas, or more than half a ton; another is mostly of solid gold.

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The new cathedral is a vast pile, with large and lofty domes, and many well proportioned pillars ; yet the whole appears heavy and disgusting. The effect is owing to the single circumstance of its being loaded with a very projecting cornice, such as would not be void of elegance in a rotunda of vast dimensions, but by no means suitable to an edifice, which abounds with angles. All who view this building are struck with the absurdity of these preposterous ornaments, yet the architect wants resolution to retract them. It is not, however, impossible, that the waves may wipe away this disgrace to taste, because they have begun their devastations on that side, and not more than ten feet are interposed between the building and the sea.

Near to the cathedral is the *Plaza de Toros*, for the bull-feasts, built intirely with wood, making externally a mean appearance ; but within, it is both pretty and commodious. I had been solicitous to see the dexterity of the most famous matador in Spain, named Romero, but at this season the bull-feasts are prohibited.

Not far from hence is the observatory,

in a most advantageous situation; but unfortunately the instruments, although the best that our English artists of the day could furnish, are neglected, and will soon be ruined.

The academy for the three noble arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, is at present, as a building, scarcely worthy of attention. It will, however, be removed into the centre of the city, when a sufficient fund can be provided for that purpose.

In the convents are a few good pictures; more especially in the cloister of the Augustin friars; and in that of the capuchins we find some most worthy of attention, by Murillo. In the garden of the Franciscans is the dragon's-blood-tree, mentioned by Quer, in his Botany of Spain.

Of the three hospitals, two are most remarkable for neatness; the third deserves reproach for filth and nastiness; yet this perhaps is the best conducted for general utility. It is called the Royal or Military Hospital, because designed for soldiers, and has fourscore students, who are maintained and educated at the king's expence. It has a good botanical garden, and a theatre
for

for dissections furnished with subjects from among the patients. One of the two distinguished for neatness is set apart for women; the other, dedicated to *San Juan de Dios*, and designed for men, is elegant. All the wards are paved with marble in checkers of black and white; and instead of white walls, of wainscoting, or of stucco, the sides are covered with Dutch tiles.

In this hospital, the beds having no curtains, I saw death in all its stages, from its distant approach to its closing scene; from ordinary disease to the last and feeblest struggles, to the pale visage, and the trembling lips of expiring nature. My attention was directed towards each dying object by a cross at the bed's head, which indicated, that he had received the sacraments of the eucharist, and of extreme unction. To one, who had formerly walked an hospital; to one, whose office leads him to attend the dying and the dead, death must naturally have lost much of its terror; but the view of so many objects of distress, sinking under the pressure of disease, I must confess, spread a gloom over my mind, such as no one should subject him-

self to, unless he is either called to it in the way of duty, or is blessed with peculiar fortitude of nerves.

They have commonly in this hospital more than six thousand patients, and out of these they annually lose one tenth; but at different seasons the proportion varies.

Beside these hospitals for the sick, there is a retreat for widows, founded by Juan Fragela, a Turkey merchant, born at Damascus, and settled at Cadiz, who died A. D. 1756, aged one hundred and four. In this hospital forty-seven widows have each two good rooms, with a weekly allowance of six reals. They appear to find in it a comfortable refuge.

The most interesting establishment in Cadiz, and the best conducted of its kind in Spain, is the hospicio, or general work-house. This building is large and lofty, handsome and commodious. In it are received the poor of every nation, who are unable to maintain themselves, and in the first place, orphans, deserted children, and the aged, who are passed the capability for labour, the blind, the lame, idiots, and mad people, but especially priests, when
 9 aged

aged and reduced to poverty. Even strangers passing through the city, with permission of the governor, may be entertained two days.

Neatness universally prevails, and all, who are here received, are clean, well clothed, and have plenty of the best provisions. Care is taken to instruct them in the christian doctrines, and every six months the young people are publicly examined. Their education is to read, to write, to cast accounts; and such as manifest abilities, are not only instructed in the principles of geometry, but, if they are so inclined, are taught to draw. The boys are trained to weaving, and to various crafts; the girls spin wool, flax, and cotton; they knit, make lace, or are employed in plain work.

Of the eight hundred and thirty-four paupers provided for at the time of my visiting this establishment, the 21st of March, 1787, the old men were one hundred and nine, the aged women one hundred and thirty-one, the boys two hundred and thirty-five, the girls one hundred and seventy-one, married people eighteen, idiots and mad people, thirty-four; under cor-

rection, men fifty-nine, women thirty-eight; as servants thirty-nine. The number indeed is perpetually varying; but in the whole of the preceding year, the rations of provision were three hundred twelve thousand four hundred and nine, which number, divided by three hundred and sixty-five, points out the average to have been eight hundred and fifty-five persons maintained daily in this house. Forty-five looms, and sixteen stocking frames are provided for their service, with a sufficient number of spinning-wheels, working benches, tools for carpenters, turners, shoemakers, and taylor, a twisting mill, a spinning jenny, and a machine for carding cotton.

To encourage industry, an account is kept for each individual, wherein he is made debtor to the house at the rate of three reals, or about seven-pence a day, and has credit given him for all the work he does; and should the balance be, as often happens, in his favour, it is paid to him, whenever he can make it appear, to the satisfaction of the directors, that he is able to establish himself without their future aid. I examined the accounts of many,

many, who cleared for themselves more than half a crown a week; and were looking out for settlements, that they might marry, and gather the fruits of their own industry.

Adjoining to the house is a spacious shop for the accommodation of all, who are willing to work, wherein are provided proper implements, and raw materials; and the moment any one has completed his work, he receives the price of his labour, without any deduction; being at liberty not only to lodge, where he pleases, but to spend his gains according to his fancy. Here I counted more than seventy young people at their wheels.

But because many, who would work, are indispensably confined at home, where, from poverty, they are unable to procure either wheels or wool; the governors provide both, and pay them, without any deduction, for their work. By these means, when I was there, of three hundred and forty-eight families, more than five hundred souls, were trained to industry. The directors informed me of three children, the eldest nine years of age, who by spinning gained six reals, that is more than fourteen

fourteen pence a day, and maintained a paralytic father.

Not satisfied with these exertions, they have established schools in the distant quarters of the city, on the same plan; and, providing the best masters in every branch of business, which they wish to cultivate, they admit freely all, who are desirous of being taught.

It is their intention to pick out from the brightest of their boys the best draftsmen, and having instructed them in the various languages of Europe, to make them travel for the acquisition of knowledge, and the advancement of manufactures.

As the surrounding parishes may not find it convenient to adopt similar institutions on a smaller scale, therefore they receive the infants, the aged, and the infirm, from any of them, on condition of being paid in due proportion for their board.

The management is vested in twelve directors, who are presided over by the governor of the city for the time being, with power to fill up of themselves any vacancy, which may happen in their body. Of these, six take the general oversight of the various departments; the other six have

have each a separate charge, that every one may enjoy, without another to share it with him, the applause which his zeal deserves. One is accomptant general; another is treasurer; a third is steward, to collect the rents, and to manage the revenue; a fourth has the oversight of manufactures; the fifth takes the charge of the provisions; and the sixth provides the raiment.

All their accounts are clear, distinct, and kept with most minute exactness.

The sources of their revenue are from voluntary contributions; legacies; a tax of one real a fanega on all the wheat brought into the city; and from the produce of labour in the house. The whole expence, in the year 1786, was one million three hundred and eighty-five thousand reals, viz.

Reals vellon.	
Provisions -	541,640
Clothes - -	58,409
Salaries - -	66,590
Sundries - -	718,361
1,385,000 reals vellon.	
Which,	

Which, dividing by one hundred, that is by cutting off two figures from the right, leaves thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds.

The preceding year the clothing was nearly three times as much ; but the other expences differed little from the year now under examination. If we take the average at eight hundred and fifty persons, we shall find the food for each amounting to six hundred and thirty-seven reals, or six pounds seven shilling and four pence, and the clothes to thirteen shillings and eight-pence. But in order to find out the whole expence on account of each individual, we must consider, that during the three years since the hospicio was first opened, the goods unfold in the magazines amount to four hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and fifty-one reals, which being divided by three, gives one hundred and fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and seventeen for the proportion of one year. Now this being deducted from one million three hundred and eighty-five thousand, leaves one million two hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and

and eighty-three as the expence of the public for the year 1786, and this, divided by eight hundred and fifty, gives one thousand four hundred and forty-three reals, or fourteen pounds eight shillings and seven pence for the expence of each, not including the produce of his labour.

This accumulation of goods in their magazines arises from the want of a market. Public bodies being deficient in watchfulness, activity, and zeal, labour under this disadvantage, and will never find a vent for their commodities, unless at a price greatly inferior to what private manufacturers will be able to obtain. From hence arises one argument against such establishments; but although strong, it is by no means the strongest, because universally people in confinement, and deprived of liberty, eat too much, and work too little. This beyond a question is the case at Cadiz, in the hospicio, in which they have ninety-two holidays allowed them, and in which the expence of food and raiment is double what it should be.

In the conduct of this establishment we find many things highly to be commended,
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and in the first place we must admire the activity and zeal of the directors. That gentlemen of distinguished talents, and men of business, should be animated with such zeal for the public good, as to devote a considerable portion of their time to it, and assemble every evening to superintend this work, can never be sufficiently applauded. In the detail of this business we discover not only zeal, but zeal well directed for the best of purposes. Nothing can be more worthy of imitation than the public work-shop, with the practice of providing wheels and wool for those who are confined at home; nor can any thing more effectually excite the ingenuous mind to industry than the idea, that he shall be rewarded for his pains, and in the issue reap the fruits of his own exertions. But inasmuch as many among the lower classes are destitute of generous sentiments, and as most of them have, by their supineness, reduced themselves to distress and poverty; the regulation introduced into one of our workhouses at Bradford, in Wiltshire, by a most ingenious manager, may perhaps, and, I apprehend, undoubtedly will, be found preferable

preferable for general utility. He calculates what every one is capable of earning, without oppression, and accordingly appoints the morning and the evening task, which must be performed before they either eat or drink. When this task is accomplished; whatever more they earn, they immediately receive. From this conduct of the manager, the poor feel constantly the two-fold incentive of hope and fear, which certainly is much better for them than to be under the influence of one motive only, and that more remote. His plan is to receive and to relieve the poor in the hour of distress; but at the same time to teach them industry, and to get rid of them as soon as possible.

In certain circumstances it may be wise to take children from their parents, and to educate them in public seminaries; but then it should be remembered, that thus trained they are seldom hardy, and that they have never been found to make good domestics; nor are they qualified to rear a family, like those, who have been bred up in cottages, and have, from their infancy, been

been taught to turn their hands to every kind of work.

To take old people from their families, and, under pretence of providing better for their wants, to rob them of those endearments, and that tender care, which they would have received from their nearest relatives and friends, is cruel in the extreme; and to leave empty a wretched cottage, or a miserable bed, for the reception of fresh wretchedness and misery, is so far from being either politic or wise, that no conduct can be more remote from wisdom and sound policy. If, the moment you had provided for the object of distress, you were to pull down the habitation, and set fire to the bed; if you were to destroy the nest, which nothing but wretchedness can occupy; the case would then be different. The principle on which is built this observation, being little understood, and less attended to, I shall endeavour to explain it.

Navigators make mention of an island in the South Seas, which, from the first discoverer, is called *Juan Fernandez*. In this sequestered spot he placed a colony of goats, consisting

consisting of one male attended by his female. This happy couple, finding pasture in abundance, could readily obey the first command, to increase and multiply, till in process of time they had replenished their little island. Dampier, vol. i. p. 88. In advancing to this period they were strangers to misery and want, and seemed to glory in their numbers: but from this unhappy moment they began to suffer hunger; yet continuing for a time to increase their numbers, had they been endued with reason, they must have apprehended the extremity of famine. In this situation the weakest first gave way, and plenty was again restored. Thus they fluctuated between happiness and misery, and either suffered want or rejoiced in abundance, according as their numbers were diminished or increased; never at a stay, yet nearly balancing at all times their quantity of food. This degree of equipoise was from time to time destroyed, either by epidemical diseases, or by the arrival of some vessel in distress. On such occasions their numbers were considerably reduced; but to compensate for this alarm, and to comfort them for the loss of

their companions, the survivors never failed immediately to meet returning plenty: they were no longer in fear of famine; they ceased to regard each other with an evil eye; all had abundance; all were contented; all were happy. Thus, what might have been considered as misfortunes, proved a source of comfort; and, to them at least, partial evil was universal good.

When the Spaniards found that the English privateers resorted to this island for provisions, they resolved on the total extirpation of the goats, and for this purpose they put on shore a greyhound dog and bitch. Ulloa, b. 2. c. 4. These in their turn increased and multiplied, in proportion to the quantity of food they met with; but in consequence, as the Spaniards had foreseen, the breed of goats diminished. Had they been totally destroyed, the dogs likewise must have perished. But as many of the goats retired to the craggy rocks, where the dogs could never follow them, descending only for short intervals to feed, with fear and circumspection, in the vallies, few of these, besides the careless and the rash, became a prey; and none but the most watchful,

watchful, strong, and active of the dogs could get a sufficiency of food. Thus a new kind of balance was established. The weakest of both species were among the first to pay the debt of nature; the most active and vigorous preserved their lives. It is the quantity of food which regulates the number of the human species.

If we suppose, in a good climate, with plenty of food and healthy habitations, the number of children in each family on the average to be four, and the mean age to which they shall arrive to be fifty years; if the men should marry at the age of twenty-one, and the women at nineteen, then one couple, at the end of thirty-three years, will leave twelve descendants. In fifty-nine years there will be twenty-four persons; and at the end of one hundred and twenty-nine years, they will be one hundred and eighty-eight, or ninety-four times their first number.

Father Feyjoo relates, that, A. D. 1590, one man and four women, who had escaped from shipwreck, landed in the isle of Pines, near Madagascar, where, finding plenty of good fruit, they became, when discovered by

the Dutch, twelve thousand. Should any one conceive either this fact, as it very probably is, to be mistated, or my supposition to go much beyond the mark, he is welcome to reduce the number as low as he pleases, provided he leaves me in possession of this principle, that in certain circumstances and in given periods, men will multiply in proportion to their food.

We are informed, that the Israelites, when they came into Egypt, were seventy souls; that they remained in the land of Goshen four hundred and thirty years, and that when they departed, omitting the Levites, the amount of all, that were able to go out to war, was six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty *males*, of twenty years old and upwards. From these data we may conclude, that the Israelites doubled their numbers every twenty-seven years, or nearly within that term.

The population in North-America doubles every five and twenty years; but in some provinces every fifteen years. In modern Europe it requires, according to Dr. Smith, five hundred years to double the number of its inhabitants. The reason
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of this becomes obvious, if we call to mind the principles on which depend the propagation of the species, and the causes by which its progress may be retarded, or altogether limited. These are,

1st, Want of food, as on the highlands of Scotland, where a woman will bring twenty children, and rear only two; or in the woods among the hunting tribes; or even in the most highly cultivated country, when the population is advanced to the utmost ability of the soil to nourish, like as in China, where numbers are exposed, and perish in their infancy, for want of food, and where many are deterred from marriage by the fear of wanting bread.

2d, Diseases, either peculiar to the climate as at Senegal and at Batavia; or induced, as at Constantinople, and even in London, by infection, foul air, confinement, and bad nursing: diseases not confined to woods, not ravaging the savage tribes alone, but spreading with more fatal virulence in great, in rich, and in luxurious cities.

3d, Want of commerce for the promotion of industry, and of a market for the surplus of its produce.

4th, War in all its forms, whether carried on by uncultivated or by polished nations, either for plunder, for conquest, or for the extension of commerce.

5th, Superstitious vows imposed on the monastic orders, and celibacy enjoined the priesthood.

6th, Emigration of the breeding stock, and transference of capitals, arising either from a bad police, or from a vicious form of government, and the want of that security of person and of property which can be enjoyed only where freedom reigns; that is, where men are sure of being protected from the oppression of arbitrary power, and are subject to none but wise and equitable laws.

7th, Want of land, or the opportunity of acquiring it by industry.

8th, Want of habitations.

Now in proportion as you remove these obstacles, your population will advance. When, therefore, it is your object to increase the number of your people; the way to accomplish this will be obvious, and the task in Spain, under a wise government, would be easy; but when the question is, how to
banish

banish poverty and wretchedness, *hoc opus, hic labor est*. Yet in the investigation of this question we have one general principle to guide us: increase the quantity of food, or where that is limited, prescribe bounds to population. In a fully peopled country, to say, that no one shall suffer want is absurd. Could you supply their wants, you would soon double their numbers, and advance your population *ad infinitum*, which is contrary to the supposition. It is indeed possible to banish hunger, and to supply that want at the expence of another; but then you must determine the proportion that shall marry, because you will have no other way to limit the number of your people. No human efforts will get rid of this dilemma; nor will men ever find a method, either more natural, or better in any respect, than to leave one appetite to regulate another.

Having already enlarged upon this subject, I shall here only refer to such rules, as may enable us to form a proper judgment of the workhouse in Cadiz.

To institute public shops, where the industrious may at all times find employ-

ment, is benevolent and wise: to supply them at home with implements and raw materials is politic; but to expect a profit from the labour of people in confinement is absurd.

To supply the indigent with food and raiment, provided you thereby do not offer a premium to indolence, prodigality, and vice, is salutary.

To correct the lazy and the spendthrift, to shut them up in houses of confinement till they have acquired habits of sobriety and industry, is both just and prudent; but in such establishments, to feed, to clothe, to lodge them better than the sober and the diligent are lodged, are clothed, are fed, is not agreeable to any principles of equity, and is inconsistent with sound policy.

Upon the grounds already stated, I may venture to predict, that notwithstanding the zeal and efforts of the gentlemen, who superintend the general workhouse at Cadiz, and in spite of all their wise regulations, unless the people in it are compelled to work more, and have less to eat; in a course of years the city will be nearly as
full

full of beggars as before the foundation of this house was laid. For whilst all the habitations, now recently emptied, remain to receive new tenants in similar distress with those who quitted them, and whilst such a comfortable refuge is at hand for them; indolence, prodigality, and vice will have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope; and the most improvident will not hesitate to contract those bands, on which the propagation of their race depends.

I cannot quit the hospicio, without taking notice of the kitchen, on account of its singular structure. The chimney is an octagon, in the middle of the room, surrounded by sixteen stoves, eight of them large, and contiguous to it, and as many small, communicating by means of flues. The larger stoves are three feet diameter, by three and an half in depth. Under the kitchen is a cellar to receive the ashes.

The merchants of this city, ever since the commerce of Peru and Mexico was transported here from Seville, have risen in consideration; but, in the present moment, they have received a severe shock by the removal of the barrier, which had secured
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that monopoly to them. The consequence has been, a glutted market in the Trans-atlantic colonies, many failures in Cadiz, and not a few in those cities, which have eagerly engaged in new and flattering enterprises, without sufficient capitals to stand the shock of competition and the heavy losses inevitable upon the first laying open of an extensive commerce.

The Spanish government has never yet acquired any liberal ideas respecting trade, and even at the present moment, some of their best political writers resemble lag hounds hunting the stale scent, whilst the fleetest are already in possession of the game. Instead of throwing down every obstacle to commerce, they labour to contract its limits, under the vain hope of establishing a monopoly, without considering either their own want of capital, of industry, and of an enterprising spirit, or the utter impossibility of preventing smuggling, whilst other nations, with greater advantages for trade, can undersell them in the market. Until they shall be more enlightened, until they shall have banished their inquisitors, and until the happy period shall arrive,

arrive, when, under the protection of a free government, they shall have restored public credit, and placed it on a firm foundation; all their prohibitions, all their severities exercised on the property and persons of the illicit traders, all their commercial treaties, and all their commercial wars, into which ambition may betray them, will be frivolous and vain; because no efforts will ever prevail against the united interests of their own subjects, and of all surrounding nations.

Even at home, the watchfulness and energy of government have never been able to enforce its prohibitions; for, notwithstanding these, when I was travelling through Spain, all the men appeared in Manchester cotton goods, and no woman was seen without her muslin veil. In Spain, as throughout Europe, it is found, that when the price of insurance is less than the duties imposed on the commodity, no laws are sufficient to controul the operations of illicit traders.

Previous to the year 1720, the commerce of America was confined to Seville, not intentionally, but by a regulation of Charles V. in the year 1529, who, with a view of
laying

laying that commerce open for all his subjects of Castille, permitted merchants to freight their ships from the ports of Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, Malaga and Carthagená, provided they returned to *Seville*; under penalty of death, and confiscation of their cargoes, in case of non-compliance with that absurd injunction. As for the cities belonging to the crown of Arragon, they were wholly excluded from the commerce of America, and could reap no advantage from the newly discovered continent. In consequence of these regulations, and the heavy duties of twenty per cent. imposed on all goods exported to America, or imported from it, beside the duty of tonnage on the vessels; the contraband trade became so lucrative, and of course so extensive in its operations, that little could be carried on to advantage under the sanction of the laws. And the manufacturers of Spain, who A. D. 1545, had such a demand for goods, that merchants were happy to engage with them six years before hand, contracting to take from them all that they could possibly produce; these same manufacturers lived to see the market lost, and were reduced from
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the height of commercial affluence, to penury and want.

A. D. 1720, the emporium was changed, and the commerce, which for two centuries had proved a source of wealth to Seville, was translated to Cadiz. At the same time the duties were lowered, and, instead of twenty per cent. on exports, rated according to their value, all bale goods and boxes paid a settled tonnage of five reals and an half of plate for the cubic palm, without examination, or any consideration, either of the nature or of the quality of the articles contained in them. The tonnage varied according to a table comprehending the sixteen ports of Spanish America, being different in each. The inexpediency of these regulations is too obvious to escape unnoticed by the reader.

These were not, however, the only mistakes made by the Spanish government in its commerce with the colonies; for, instead of dispatching small vessels frequently, as the market might require; previous to the year 1748, the whole trade was carried on by twenty-seven galleons, and flotas to the number of about twenty-three; the former
failing

sailing annually to Porto Bello, the latter, once in three years, to Vera Cruz; the former for the commerce of Peru, the latter for that of Mexico; the smallest vessel being about five hundred and fifty tons, the others from eight hundred to one thousand.

The galleons first touched at Carthagena for the convenience of the merchants of Popayan and Santa Fé, who brought gold and bezoar stones, carrying back with them, in exchange, provisions and European goods. But the principal mart was Porto Bello, a town situated in such a barren country, and subject to such noxious vapours, that, except during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, it was deserted. Hither the merchants brought their gold and silver, with Peruvian bark, and Vicuña wool; and beyond this the Spanish trader could not send his goods, nor could the Peruvians dispose of theirs, upon their own account, in Spain.

The English, by an article in the peace of Utrecht, had the privilege of sending annually a ship of five hundred tons to Porto Bello, loaded with all kinds of merchandise;

dise ; but under covert of this indulgence they commonly freighted one of twice that burthen, accompanied by tenders from Jamaica, with which, when near the port, they exchanged provisions for piece goods ; and by that contrivance, usually carried more articles of commerce than five or six of the Spanish fleet. From A. D. 1737, the fair, and, together with it, Panama and Porto Bello, have declined. (*V. Dampier's and Ulloa's Voyages.*)

As long as the court confined the trade of Peru to galleons, it gradually decreased, insomuch that instead of employing fifteen thousand tons, it was sunk, in the year 1740, to less than two thousand. (*V. Campomanes Educacion popular.*) But no sooner had the marquis de la Ensenada substituted register ships in the place of galleons, to proceed directly by Cape Horn to the place of their destination, than the trade revived ; and when, in the year 1765, the barriers were in part removed, and all Spain, the provinces of Biscay alone excepted, was permitted to send its productions to Jucatan and the windward islands of Margarita and Trinidad ; and when, instead of the duties

of the tonelada and palmeo, only six per cent. was laid upon all goods exported; the commerce, which had been like the summer's brook, soon resembled a great river, and enriched all the countries through which it flowed.

In consequence of the benefits which merchants, manufacturers, planters, and the revenue received by the partial removal of these impediments to commerce, government, although reluctantly, at last (A. D. 1778) agreeable to the remonstrances of Count Campomanes, consented to lay open the trade of America to all its subjects, those alone excepted, who, not being bound by the general laws of the peninsula, could not safely be admitted to the enjoyment of this privilege. The inhabitants of Biscay have, however, no reason to complain, because they possess an ample compensation for their loss in the peculiar immunities, which they inherit from their fathers, and more especially in the freedom of their ports.

Such have been the general regulations. But Spain, like England, and other nations of Europe, has granted, from time to time, exclusive

exclusive privileges to chartered companies, not only to the injury of its citizens at large, and of its manufacturers in particular, but to the oppression of those provinces, which have been subjected to a monopoly. If a country could be found uncivilized, yet free, and abounding with capitals unemployed in trade; or if large sums were required for hazardous undertakings, more than could be raised on the credit of a private company, in such a case, the grant of a monopoly, with peculiar privileges, might be endured; but that a trade, once open, should be confined for the benefit of a few, to the disadvantage of the many, is inconsistent with every principle of equity, and of commercial policy.

A. D. 1728, Philip V. granted by charter to a company, taking the name of Guipuzcoa, the exclusive trade of Caraccas, in the province of Venezuela, with the privilege of reshipping, by smaller vessels, all its surplus commodities for Cumana and Guayana, with Trinidad and Margarita, two islands at the mouth of the Orinoco, that this company might exchange European goods for gold, silver, hides, cacao, sugar,

and such other fruits as these countries produced; but in the event, cacao became their staple commodity. A. D. 1752, the province of Maracaybo was added to their grant.

This company at first employed twelve vessels to carry on its trade, with nineteen to guard the coast from smugglers, varying these numbers as suited their convenience; and for both these purposes they engaged two thousand five hundred seamen. Such an expence, with the heavy charge of management by directors, supercargoes, factors, agents, clerks, &c. &c. required considerable profits, beyond what the private adventurer would have been happy to receive, had the trade been free; and therefore, as was most natural, produced exaction operating against the colonist, a contracted commerce checking the manufacturer at home, and severities exercised in vain to restrain the operations of the illicit trader. (*Vide Campomanes Educ. pop.*)

The ports they used in Spain were S. Sebastian and Cadiz, into which, in five years, from 1770 to 1774, they imported
one

one hundred seventy nine thousand one hundred and fifty - six fanegas of cacao, each fanega being one hundred and ten Castillian pounds; and by this large importation sunk the price of chocolate in Spain to one-half of what it had been before.

The cacao is the fruit of the *Theobroma foliis integerrimis*, one of the Polyadelphia, Pentandria, and flourishes in America between the tropics, but more especially in the province of Venezuela. The fruit grows on the trunk and on the branches, and never fails at any season of the year. In Spain they mix six pounds of the nut with three pounds or three and an half of sugar, seven pods of vanillas, one pound and an half of Indian corn, and half a pound of cinnamon, six cloves, one drachm of capsicum, some roucou nut, to improve the colour, and a small portion of musk, or ambergris, to give it a pleasant scent. Some people, however, use only the nut, with sugar and cinnamon. The Indians, to one pound of the nut put half a pound of Indian corn, with an equal quantity of sugar, and some rose-water.

The vanillas are pods filled with minute seeds, from a parasitical climbing plant, described under the name of *Epidendrum Vanillia*, Sp. Pl. 1347, belonging to the Gynandrous class, (v. Pulteney's View of the Writings of Linnæus.)

A. D. 1780, the Carraccas company received the severest shock in the capture of a rich convoy by Lord Rodney, valued at more than two hundred thousand pounds; and a few years after, their capital was absorbed in a new establishment, called the Company of the Philippines.

This company, instituted agreeably to the ideas suggested by the Abbé Raynal, in his view of the European settlements, took its rise in the year 1785, with a capital of twelve hundred thousand pounds, and with valuable privileges granted to it for a term of twenty-five years. Previous to this establishment, two ships sailed annually, one from Acapulco, a sea-port of Mexico, and crossing the Pacific Ocean, carried the treasures of America to the Philippines; the other, returning by the same course from Manilla, the capital of Luconia, came to Acapulco, where it was

met

met by vessels from Lima, loaded with cacao, quicksilver, and hard dollars; in barter for which the merchants sent back china ware, spices, perfumes, silk, callicoes, muslins, and printed linens, the produce of the East.

When the Philippine company began its operations, this traffic ceased; and now, under the specious idea of saving time, with freight and insurance, required in conveying the gold and silver, but chiefly silver, of Peru and Mexico, by Europe to the east, these precious metals are sent directly westward to the place of their final destination, whilst the more bulky and perishable produce of the East, to the same amount in value, is diverted from its former course, and made to describe, in the opposite direction, that segment of the circle, which had anciently been traced by the silver and the gold.

The Philippine islands, almost innumerable, and cast up by volcanos, are healthy, fertile, and, beside all the grains of Europe, produce gold, copper, iron, ship-timber, hemp, alum, salt-petre, cattle, hides, sago, rice, raisins, cacao, sugar, tobacco, wax, fish, and couries, which are the money of

Indoſtan. Theſe, with the ſilver, indigo, and cochineal of America, the company barter with the merchants of Aſia for muſlins, cottons, ſilks, ſpices, tea, quickſilver, and china ware, which, with the ſuperabundant produce of the iſlands, are now brought by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, and are admitted under eaſy duties into Spain with a drawback of one-third on their exportation.

Nothing could be more flattering to the hopes of the miniſter, than a plan apparently ſo well contrived, and carried on under the auſpices of a moſt able and enterpriſing foreigner, who had already ſignalized himſelf by the formation of the bank. Yet pleaſing as the proſpect was, all his hopes, and all the expectations of the nation are upon the point of vaniſhing. With heavy charges of adminiſtration, with every diſadvantage in the purchaſe of commodities, the chief articles of trade are either ſpoiling for want of a market, or ſold to a conſiderable loſs. As for tea they never uſe it; china ware is little in requeſt, and even with us will ſcarcely pay the freight; the ſilks, the muſlins, and the cotton goods, whiſt they could find purchaſers, had a tendency to
deſtroy

destroy their favourite manufactures; and now, since these latter articles must abide the issue of a fair competition with the English, the company may be said to have received its mortal wound.

In a country subject to despotic power, if the minister of the day will purchase confidence, he must bid high for it; if he will have trading companies incorporated, with commanding capitals, he must grant them monopolies, with exclusive privileges, inconsistent with the general good. Yet after all, such companies will hold these privileges by a most uncertain tenure, and when they come to balance their accounts, may find, that whilst they flattered themselves with the hope of gaining more than just and reasonable interest for their money, they have lost the capital itself.

Should this be the event with the Philippine company, the nation will have reason to rejoice, and the private merchant may triumph in its fall, not on account of its ostensibly exclusive privileges, but because the whole of America and of Africa being open to its speculations, no limited capitals can stand a competition with it in

the market. Had they met with the support they had reason to expect, they must have swallowed up the whole trade of Spain and in the issue have been the ruin of that country.

They have already extended their operations to Vera Cruz, to Buenos Ayres, and to most sea-ports of America, and at the present moment they are purchasing slaves on the coast of Africa. These formerly were supplied by the English, agreeably to an article in the peace of Utrecht, known by the name of the *Asiento*. Since the expiration of this grant, various contracts have been made, and among others, one recently with Dawson and Baker, of Liverpool, who have agreed to furnish three thousand annually to the Spanish islands, and upon this contract have received three hundred thousand pounds for those they have supplied already.

The treatment of the negroes in the Spanish settlements is so humane, so wise, so just, and so perfectly agreeable to the principles of political œconomy, that I rejoice in the opportunity of giving to their government the praise, which is so peculiarly

liarly its due. The slave, both in his person and his property, is under the protection of the laws, and retains the right of redemption upon equitable terms. These are settled by arbitrators, the slave having the privilege of choosing one, and the master having the nomination of the other; and in case of their disagreement, the judge fixes upon a third.

As to acquisition of property, it is rendered easy to the slave, if he has either industry, or any desire to be free; because he may claim the numerous festivals, beside two hours in the middle of the day, to cultivate his garden, to feed his poultry and his pigs, and to carry his commodities to market. But supposing him to be a good servant, oppressed by a cruel master, and not to have acquired sufficient property for his own redemption, it is not uncommon for another planter, being a witness of his fidelity, to lend him money for the purchase of his freedom, and thus the generous master gains a valuable servant, whilst the slave becomes happy in a master, to whom he can feel himself attached. From the apprehension of this, many planters, distinguished

guished for severity, are said to be gentle to those slaves, who by their amiable disposition, or by more than common excellence, have merited attention.

Is not this regulation more beneficial to the whole community, than if all the slaves indiscriminately were restored to freedom? In the Spanish islands its good effects have been experienced to such a degree, that most of the artificers, the tradesmen, and mechanics, are negroes, who by their industry and frugality, or by their singular fidelity, have obtained their freedom; and to the credit of this institution it has been observed, that two of the best battalions at the Havannah are composed of blacks, who have been slaves.

It were much to be wished that we might be warranted, with equal justice, to bestow commendations on the Spanish court for liberality of conduct towards the colonies; but unfortunately, the same spirit of monopoly prevails in that, as in the other courts of Europe, the same narrow policy, the same contracted views; producing both at home and abroad languishing manufactures, a crippled trade, with poverty

and want of population, and in the colonies, discontents, tending towards dismemberment of empire.

In consequence of oppressive regulations attempted in Peru, that rich province was well nigh lost to Spain, if its political separation may be considered as a loss. For the Marquis de Sonora, to whose memory is due much encomium for his removal of impediments to trade, and for many regulations highly beneficial to the commerce of his country, when he attempted to establish in Peru a royal monopoly of tobacco, with some taxes odious to the people, he kindled the flames of civil war; (A. D. 1781) and had it not been for the indiscretion of the rebellious chief, the event would have been the same which England experienced upon a similar occasion. The leader of this revolt was Tupacamaro, casique of Arequipa, who, pretending to derive his origin from the sacred line and to be descended from the sun, called himself the Ynca. He had met with friendship and protection from the corregidor; yet he began his revolt by causing this man to be hanged; and such were the numerous instances

stances of his cruelty and devastations committed on the persons and the property of both foes and friends, that many of the Indians joined with government against him. He was at last taken prisoner, and hanged; and by his death a period was put to the civil war, yet not till more than two hundred thousand persons had perished in the conflict.

The minister of the Indies rendered essential service to the mines, by lowering the price of quicksilver from eighty hard dollars to forty-one, that is, to eight pounds four shillings the quintal or hundred weight. The mines of Spain, chiefly that of Almaden, formerly produced a sufficient quantity of this semi-metal for the colonies. They were at that time under the direction of the famous Bowles, an Irishman of singular abilities, and of such integrity, that after having gained millions for the king, his widow has been left to spend the residue of her days in poverty. At present, Spain can furnish only sixteen thousand quintals, and therefore, to supply the deficiency, a contract has been made with the count de Greppi, the imperial consul at Cadiz, for
twelve

twelve thousand quintals annually, for which government agrees to give fifty-three hard dollars, selling it again at sixty-three. There was indeed a good mine of quicksilver at *Quancavelica*, in Peru; but by covetousness and bad management, it fell in, and was lost. Even after this, Ulloa might have re-established it, had he not been so indiscreet as to detect and to oppose the mal-administration of some men who were in power.

In consequence of thus reducing the price of quicksilver, and lowering the tribute of gold to one in twenty, and of silver to one in ten, instead of taking, as formerly, twenty per cent on each, the produce of both increased, and in Mexico, A. D. 1776, double the usual quantity of silver was coined, amounting to more than two millions and a half of sterling money.

The whole produce of the Spanish mines in America amounted, in the year 1776, to thirty millions of dollars, or, in sterling, four millions and a half; but in the space of six years it rose considerably, and is now stated at five millions four hundred thousand pounds.

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On the first discovery of America, this treasure centered in Spain; and, as far as laws could operate, was confined to the peninsula. The consequence of this was, the ruin of their manufactures at home; for, as the cortes justly complained to the emperor Charles V. the quantity of gold and silver in stagnation there, raised the price of labour. (*v. Campomanes Educ. popular, part iv. page 112, note 98.*) Yet, in process of time, the secret was developed, that no human power can stop the natural progress of these precious metals; and Spain, exhausted of its silver, was overwhelmed with base copper money, poured into it from surrounding nations. (*v. Campomanes, E. P. part iv. p. 272.*)

The fact itself is notorious, that the country is destitute of specie, at least relatively so; and count Campomanes, with great propriety, points out the real causes which have produced this effect. As such, he states the expensive wars carried on in the support of foreign dominion; and, in consequence of their having lost their manufactures, the sums expended to purchase
from

from their more industrious neighbours the most common articles of clothing.

In the year 1784, the value of exports to America was as follow, being reduced to pounds sterling:

	Spanish produce.	Foreign produce.	Total produce.
Cadiz	1,438,912	2,182,531	3,621,443
Malaga	196,379	14,301	210,680
Seville	62,713	30,543	93,256
Barcelona	122,631	21,240	143,871
Coruña	64,575	39,962	104,537
Santander	36,715	90,173	126,888
Tortosa	7,669	289	7,958
Canaries	24,974	—	24,974
Gijon	4,281	10,190	14,471
	£.1,958,849	£.2,389,229	£.4,348,078

The duties upon these produced one hundred seventy thousand and eight hundred pounds.

The value of imports from America was as follow, being reduced to sterling.

	In money and jewels.	In merchandise.
Cadiz	- 8,297,164	2,990,757
Malaga	—	18,605
Barcelona	- 102,140	91,233
Corunna	- 741,283	90,001
Santander	- 40,843	100,974
Canaries	- 109,807	52,366
	£.9,291,237	£.3,343,936

The whole import was £.12,635,173, being more than double what was stated by the abbé Raynal; and the duty upon this amounted to five hundred twenty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-three pounds.

The various prices of commodities coming from America were, A. D. 1775, in Cadiz, viz.

Cochineal, the best, from ninety-seven to one hundred and four ducats of eleven reals of plate the arroba, or about sixteen shillings the pound.

Indigo, from twenty-one to thirty-four reals of plate the pound, the real of plate being four pence halfpenny.

Cacao, from twenty-six to forty-one dollars the fanega, but mostly at forty. As, therefore,

therefore, sixteen fanegas are equal at Cadiz to twenty-five Winchester bushels, it may be reckoned at £. 3. 16s. 9d. the bushel.

Sugar, moderately white, twenty-five reals of plate the arroba, or about four pence halfpenny a pound.

Hides, from Buenos Ayres, Caraccas, and Orinoco, about five pence a pound, or eighteen shillings the hide when raw; but from the Havannah considerably less.

Vicuña Wool, from Peru, about two pence halfpenny a pound; and from Buenos Ayres, at two pence nearly: but the best sheeps wool, when washed, may be purchased there for less than two and three pence the arroba of twenty-eight pounds.

Cotton, clean, about three shillings a pound; but as the island of Cuba is found to produce it in vast abundance, the price must fall considerably.

Copper, from Mexico and Peru, twenty-four dollars the quintal, or about eight pence a pound, on a supposition that one hundred and four pounds Spanish equal one hundred and twelve English. From Chili it is twenty-five per cent. cheaper.

Tin, from America, was twenty dollars the quintal, whilst that from England sold for twenty-five; the former being something more than six pence halfpenny per pound. (v. Campomanes, Apend. a la Ed. pop. p. 144.)

Tallow might be brought from Buenos Ayres, where it sells for two and six pence the barrel of twelve arrobas, or ten pence the hundred weight: but heavy duties check this branch of commerce. (Camp. E. P. p. 333.)

A gentleman from Peru gave me samples of wool which came from two animals each resembling the *Vicuña*, one called *Alpaca*, the other *Llama*; the latter coarse, but the former very fine and excellent for hats. It is to be lamented that these have not yet found their way into the market.

The whole trade of Cadiz engages about one thousand vessels, of which nearly one-tenth are Spanish.

The wines most remarkable in Cadiz are Sherry and Pacaretti, both from Xeres and its vicinity. The former is sold for forty-eight pounds a ton, the latter for fifty-six; and these, when they come to England,

England, in the out-ports, pay, customs, sixteen guineas; excise, eleven pounds eighteen shillings the ton, being four hogheads or two pipes; in London £. 2. 16 s. more.

Merchants are liable to peculiar disadvantages in Spain, not only from the nature of the government, which is perfectly despotic, and from the ignorance, misinformation, or inattention, too often to be lamented in the best of ministers; not only by absurd prohibitions, by monopolies, and by oppressive duties, but by the misconduct of the provincial governors, who frequently are influenced by mercenary views, in the judgment they pronounce between contending parties.

A late military governor, much favoured by the king, being supreme in all civil and fiscal causes, when he was new in office, refused taking bribes, and ruled his rapacious officers with a rod of iron; but long before he was disgraced, he became infected with the love of money, and received it upon the most infamous occasions without a blush. Under his protection, merchants defrauded the revenue, and bankrupts found shelter

from their creditors. This was notorious; yet, when he was recalled, such had been his predecessors, and such were they likely to be, who should be appointed to succeed him, that he retired lamented, and carried with him certificates of his good conduct, signed however, chiefly by the monks, whom, previous to his departure, he had much careffed.

On his retreat, his power was divided, and the civil government was administered by the *alcaldes mayores* of the city, each alternately holding it a week. One of these having, for the trifling consideration of twenty dollars, granted an order to a creditor in Spain to seize, for his own private benefit, the effects of a bankrupt; the agent of other creditors in England, taking the *alcalde* by the hand, with forty dollars, readily procured a reversal of the order, and thus purchased substantial justice for his employers.

Another *alcalde* having promised, for one hundred dollars, not to grant an attachment to a person, who had pretensions to some property, yet granted it, and being reproached for his conduct, replied with coolness,

coolness, " How could I avoid it, when
 " he gave me forty dollars? but be not un-
 " easy, for to-morrow I will take off the
 " attachment."

Obnoxious to such abuses, how can
 commerce flourish?

The province of Andalusia, watered
 throughout its whole extent by the Gua-
 dalquivir, if properly cultivated, should
 produce corn sufficient, not only for its
 own consumption, but for exportation. Yet
 the wheat annually imported is little less
 than one million and an half of fanegas;
 the fanega being commonly one hundred
 weight, but at Cadiz, about three pounds
 less. Nearly one half this quantity, in the
 year 1787, came from Africa; eighty-five
 thousand fanegas were imported from Ame-
 rica, and the remainder was furnished by
 Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; the whole
 amount that year being one million four
 hundred and forty-eight thousand fanegas.

It is remarkable, that though they have
 an opportunity of constructing tide-mills,
 yet, for want of these, they grind their corn
 with mules, which costs them ten reals, or

two shillings nearly, per quintal or fanega.

To prevent a scarcity of corn, and to make a profit by the sale of it, the city has established a public granary, from which the bakers are supplied at a given price; and, according to that, the magistrates regulate the assize of bread. I visited this vast repository, and was much surprised to see the heaps of wheat full of all kinds of trumpery, not only barley, but vetches of various kinds, and a variety of noxious seeds. Had the grain been winnowed by the machine now in common use all over Scotland, it would have been more beautiful to the eye, and much more wholesome for their food.

When I had satisfied my curiosity in viewing and contemplating the articles of commerce, under the protection of a friend, with whom I had spent much time at Madrid, I made a little excursion to see the arsenals at the Caraca. Cadiz itself is strongly fortified towards the sea by rocks, and, on the land side, by works erected at a vast expence. Beyond these are market gardens on the strand, watered by norias; and

and here begins the narrow causeway leading to the isle of Leon, which is an extensive flat, uncultivated, and scarcely susceptible of cultivation. Although barren, it produces considerable profit by the numerous salt-pools, which require very little trouble or expence; because the sun and air quickly occasion the water to evaporate, leaving the salt crystallized.

The village of Port Royal, through which we passed, is one long street, well paved, and very pretty. Here my curiosity prompted me to visit M. de Langara, who gave me a polite reception. Pleased with his countenance and manner, I most sincerely pitied his misfortunes.

Ever since the war, the exertions of Spain have been incessant to render her marine respectable; but more especially at the time when I was there, all was in motion, and the minister of the marine was making the most strenuous efforts to equip a formidable fleet. This was done to vindicate their claims upon the Mosquito shore, although that territory was never subject to the crown of Spain, and the independent princes, who have dominion there,

had been for ages in alliance with the English nation.

When I returned to England, I examined the nature and extent of the settlement which caused so much uneasiness to Spain. It consisted of no more than five hundred and sixty-nine freemen, including the women and their children, with one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three black slaves, and two hundred and four head of cattle. The uneasiness arose, therefore, not from the number of the settlers, but from their contraband trade; from their communication with the Mosquitos, who, in time of war, had been used to molest the Spaniards; and from the apprehension that, by their means, the English, in some future war, might establish themselves in force on the lake of Nicaragua.

This settlement was certainly valuable to England as the connecting medium between Jamaica and the Spanish Main for the exchange of our manufactures with Guatemala against indigo, cochineal, silver, and hard dollars. Indeed the indigo, growing wild on all that coast, yields the best commodity, and no country produces finer

sugar-canes. The infant colony made about a hundred and fifty hogheads in one year; but being obliged to pay the foreign duty in England, the mills were suffered to decay. Mahogany was a principal article of their commerce; and of this the annual export was about three million feet. Beside these articles, they sent to England four tons of turtle-shells, paying a duty of one shilling a pound, with a hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of sarsaparilla, the duty of which, at seven pence a pound, was three thousand five hundred pounds; a sum more than sufficient to discharge all the expences of this new settlement.

Such was the value of our possessions on the Mosquito Shore, that neither the minister who signed the preliminaries of peace at the close of a disastrous war, nor his immediate successor in office, who ratified that peace, would agree to their relinquishment; yet, in the year 1787, the settlement was evacuated, and our most faithful allies were abandoned to the mercy of their inveterate enemies.

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The magazines at the Caraca, all well arranged, are full of stores, and new docks have been constructed at a vast expence, for, being sunk in a bed of soft clay and loam, they are consequently difficult to construct, and require unremitted labour to keep them dry. For this purpose they use chain pumps, to the number of sixteen, each worked by eight men, who alternately pump four hours, and rest eight. These are criminals, mostly smugglers, condemned to this painful service, some for three, others for seven, and not a few for fourteen years. The smugglers are, however, distinguished from the thieves by a single chain, whilst the latter carry two. In this dock-yard alone are a thousand of those miserable creatures. I observed here a practice worthy of imitation. To preserve their store masts from the worms, from the wind, and from the sun, they are buried in sand, and by this simple method are preserved for many years.

In order to shew how much their naval power has advanced in the space of a few years, I shall subjoin a statement of their
 9 marine

marine as it stood in the years 1776 and 1788.

Force.	A. D. 1776.		A. D. 1788.	
	Number of ships.		Number of ships.	
112	—	1	—	10
94	—	—	—	3
80	—	5	—	3
74	—	—	—	42
70	—	41	—	—
68	—	—	—	5
64	—	4	—	5
60	—	6	—	—
58	—	—	—	4
54	—	—	—	1
40	—	—	—	2
34	—	—	—	40

I take no notice of the smaller frigates, they being of trifling importance.

By this statement it is evident, that in twelve years the naval force of Spain has been nearly doubled, considering merely the guns; but when we take into consideration the number of their leading ships; in point of respectability, it will appear to be much more than doubled; and if we pay attention either to the views of government, or to the peculiar taste and disposition of the new sovereign, we may conclude that no expence

pence will be spared, nor the most watchful attention wanting, to render their navy still more formidable. In the summer of 1790 their fleet of observation consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line, among which were four ships of 112: beside these, they had six of the line stationed in the Mediterranean, and a strong fleet in America.

It is a question worthy of discussion, whether Spain ought to aim at being distinguished as a naval power; or whether the sums annually expended with that view would not be more profitably employed in exciting industry, by opening communications, promoting agriculture, cherishing manufactures, encouraging trade, and by adopting every plan, followed by the most enlightened nations, to facilitate commercial intercourse. Should she adhere to the colonising system, a powerful navy will be needful to protect her commerce, and to secure her monopolies; but then it should be inquired, will the proportion of trade obtained, beyond what she would enjoy, if she had lost her authority over these distant provinces, or if their trade was free,
pay

pay the expence of arming thus in times of peace, and of employing such a multitude of revenue officers to guard extensive coasts? but more especially, will it indemnify her for all the commercial wars, in which she may be engaged to support her trade?

These are questions proper to be resolved; and her best politicians think, that she would be richer and more powerful without colonies. If their opinion is well founded, it is absurd to expend so much upon their navy.

No country can boast greater advantages for trade than Spain; and even without a single ship she might be powerful and rich. Her wine, brandy, raisins, figs, almonds, oranges, and nuts; her olives, oil, soapashes and soap; her silks, linens and cottons, were they properly encouraged, with the finest wool, not omitting the *esparto*, so valuable for cables, &c. her iron, superior in quality to that of other countries, with tin, lead, and copper in abundance; to which might be added her surplus corn, were the land in proper tillage; all these productions of the soil, with
the

the manufactures, which, under a good government, must naturally find establishment in Spain, would be such a never-failing source of wealth, that should any of the surrounding nations wish to disturb her peace, she could have no cause to fear, because upon a well-peopled, compact, and united empire, no lasting impression can be made. But supposing Spain, with such advantages of soil and climate, producing such a rich variety of articles for trade, without exhausting colonies, armed for self-defence, but not inspiring either jealousy or fear, should confine her views wholly to domestic industry ; which of all her neighbours could feel any inclination to molest her ? In such circumstances must not every one of them rejoice in her prosperity ?

War, among the rude inhabitants of infant countries, has only plunder for its object. This kind of depredation a well-disciplined people have no need to dread ; and among the civilized it has been long since forgotten. But the flames of war have been too often kindled among polished nations, with a view to conquest ; and projects of ambition

tion have seldom failed to spring from wealth and power. Yet the more enlightened begin to see the folly of such pursuits; and all, who are skilled in political arithmetic, are able to demonstrate their inexpediency. Not to mention the expence of conquests, both in men and money, it is found by experience, that an empire, not merely when possessing distant provinces, but as it extends its limits beyond certain bounds, becomes proportionably weak. Whenever this truth shall be universally acknowledged, only one source of devastation will remain.

At present, the greatest danger to the prosperity of Europe is from commercial wars. But when the colonies, still subjugated to the European powers, shall cast off the yoke, and the commercial nations, better acquainted with their true interest, shall duly cultivate the arts of peace, this source of contention will be dried up, and the only surviving contest will be that of industry; or, in the language of the east, men will beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.

The

The benefits arising to mankind from this species of contention, are described by Hesiod, with such beautiful simplicity, that I shall take the liberty to quote him.

A twofold envy, kindling twofold strife,
 Marks the vicissitudes of human life.
 On widely different principles they move;
 Who hates the one, the other must approve.
 Parent the one, of fierce protracted jars,
 To man, predestined source of endless wars.
 Night, sable goddess, gave the better birth,
 By Saturn wooed in lonely caves of earth.
 This spurs the lazy on to noble deeds,
 While the bright flame just emulation feeds.
 The idle neighbour of the growing great
 Envies that source of wealth, which forms his state.
 Who plants, who sows, with him in both to vie,
 Shall find some mimic mortal ever nigh.
 Pregnant with good this mild contention lives;
 By her each meager artist eats and thrives:
 Beggar on brother beggars keeps his eye,
 And learns from them his humble suit to ply.
 E'en poets, kindling at another's name,
 Subdue their hunger by pursuit of fame.
Perfes, these precepts, which my lines impart,
 Grave on the living tablet of thine heart.
 Nor let that worse ambition fire thy mind,
 To join the mad pursuits of mad mankind:
 To whom enough from Ceres golden store
 Earth yields for present day, but yields not more.

With

With this contented, soothe thine anxious soul;

Nor risk thine half by grasping at the whole.

View foreign riches with indifferent eyes,

Toil is the ways and means of rich supplies.

HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

As we returned from the caraca, on the causeway, a little above the level of the sea, and afterwards in the highest part of the city, I observed a porous kind of rock, composed of flinty gravel, and broken shells, united by a cement, such as was sufficient to connect, but not to fill up the interstices between them. This fact should be treasured in the memory, because it accords with many others, and points out a remarkable event in the history of the earth, subsequent to the grand revolution occasioned by the deluge.

As we returned to the city, I had the satisfaction of seeing a company of young gentlemen, who amused themselves in the foss of the ramparts, with their favourite diversion of the balloon. Their ball, about eight inches in diameter, is made of leather, strongly inflated by means of a machine, so as to be exceedingly elastic,

after which it is smeared with clay. This they smite very obliquely against a wall, with their right hand; and to give it a greater momentum, as well as to protect the fist, the hand is inclosed in a wooden case, in which are many wide and deep furrows, crossing at right angles, so as to leave a corresponding number of blunt points. The antagonists, at the distance of about fourscore yards, receive the balloon as it rebounds, and before it falls, one of them drives it back again, varying the angle within a given space, so as best to elude the attention of his opponents. This game, a species of fives, yet more elegant than ours, requires much strength and good address.

In the evening I went to see the theatre. It is large, elegant, and commodious; but as plays would not accord with the solemnity of Lent, they compromised the matter, and contented themselves with an exhibition of ropedancers, tumblers, pantomimes, and puppet shows, with some most whimsical dances, in all which they had excellent performers. The dancers were in the
stile

file of lunatics, every one clothed in some antic dress, and the scene represented the court-yard of a madhouse. They began with country dances, then suddenly they changed to the cotillion, the allemand, the galliego, and the fandango, passing with quick transitions from one to the other, and concluding with a rich variety of figures.

As it was Lent I heard many sermons, but not one, which to me appeared interesting. The most polished orators confine themselves to churches; but as it is found useful to have some, who can adapt themselves to the understandings and feelings of the vulgar, many preachers are appointed to harangue the multitude assembled in the market place, and this they do with a vehemence of voice and gesture suited to their congregations. I observed often three or four of these engaged at the same time, yet keeping such a proper distance as not to interfere.

One Wednesday evening, I went to the Franciscans to hear a penitential sermon delivered by a father of that society, who was famous for his discourses. This being

finished, all the lights were extinguished, and instantly the scourges were applied. We could readily distinguish a difference in the sound, according as the part subjected to discipline was more or less covered with elastic muscles, and in proportion to the degree of energy with which it was applied; but moderation was the prevailing sentiment, and many scarcely let the left hand know what the right hand did. How much more fervent is the zeal of Catalans, who seem as if the scourge drew blood at every stroke! Here not a voice was to be heard; whereas at Barcelona the people uttered not only groans and howlings, but a mixture between both more horrible than either.

At times when the market place was not occupied by orators, the scribes took possession of it with their benches, at which they sat with pen, ink, and paper, to write and read letters of all sorts, and to execute every kind of deed. The common price of a letter is eight quartos, or two pence farthing; and although this sum is trifling in itself, yet, considering the

number

number of illiterate people, who constantly employ them, they contrive to make out a comfortable maintenance.

Before I left Cadiz, I had the satisfaction of being witness to the ceremonies attending a funeral. After the physicians have turned their back upon a patient, nothing remains for him but confession, absolution, the eucharist, extreme unction, death; and no sooner is the last event announced, than all the friends of the deceased assemble, *dar la pesame*, that is, to condole with the afflicted widow, who, clothed in mourning, and stretched upon a bed, yet scarcely visible for want of light, receives their compliments, and in a low voice speaks to each of them. As it is supposed that no one in the family of the deceased can pay attention to the wants of nature, some friend takes care to send in a dinner ready dressed, with plenty of every thing the season can produce. When the visitors retire, the widow, son, father, brothers, uncles, cousins, and relations, each by name, unite in a message of invitation to all the friends of the deceased, requesting their

attendance when the body shall be carried, the day following, to the grave, and at the service to be performed the day after the interment for the repose of the departed soul.

In obedience to this summons, they assemble at the house of the deceased, and walk in procession to the church, where the corpse is placed during the service before the altar, with the face uncovered, and the hands uplifted, as represented on our ancient monuments, with this difference, that the deceased has a crucifix between his hands. After the funeral service, the nearest relatives assemble in the vestry, when all their acquaintance pay their respects, each by bowing to them, as he passes silently before them. This finished, they return in solemn procession to the house, where the salutation, with the same silence, is repeated.

If, as in the case of the gentleman whose obsequies I attended, the deceased was a person of condition, on the day succeeding the interment, the church is hung with mourning, all light is excluded, excepting
that

that of numerous wax tapers, a funeral pile is erected, and all the relatives assemble round it to attend the service of the mass for the soul of the deceased. On the loss of a husband, the disconsolate widow is under obligation to abstain six months from all public amusements; but the widower is acquitted for a few days abstinence from these.

Few places are more healthy than Cadiz. Yet when the solano, or south wind, blows, which comes to them over the scorching plains of Africa having only the intervention of a strait, all the passions are inflamed, and during its prevalence, the inhabitants, who are most irritable, commit every species of excess.

For the pleasures of social intercourse, I did not meet with any city more agreeable than this. As all nations are here assembled within narrow limits, by their mutual intercourse they soften each others manners; and as, notwithstanding the late shock, commerce flourishes in a degree, with its never failing attendants, wealth and hospitality; a stranger may pass away his time
with

with the highest satisfaction to himself. For my part, excepting the vice-consul Mr. Duff, and the imperial consul Count de Greppi, I chiefly associated with Spaniards. Among these the principal was Don Antonio Ulloa, the well known companion of D. George Juan, to whom I had been particularly recommended. I found him perfectly the philosopher, sensible and well informed, lively in his conversation, free and easy in his manners. Having observed at his door two soldiers mounting guard, I expected some pride of appearance, but I met with nothing like it. This great man, diminutive in stature, remarkably thin and bowed down with age, clad like a peasant, and surrounded by his numerous family of children, with the youngest about two years old, playing on his knee, was sitting to receive morning visitors, in a room, the dimensions and furniture of which, for a few moments, diverted my attention from himself, the chief object of veneration. The room was twenty feet long by fourteen wide, and less than eight feet high. In this I
saw

saw dispersed confusedly, chairs, tables, trunks, boxes, books, and papers, a bed, a press, umbrellas, clothes, carpenters tools, mathematical instruments, a barometer, a clock, guns, pictures, looking-glasses, fossils, minerals, and shells, his kettle, basons, broken jugs, American antiquities, money, and a curious mummy from the Canary islands, or at least its trunk with the head and arms, for having been the common play-thing of his children, they had amused themselves with drawing its teeth, and breaking off its limbs.

Among the extraneous fossils, he shewed me a variety of sea-shells, collected by himself near the summits of the highest mountains in America, some on the surface, but many bedded in the limestone rock. When I went to take my leave of him, on quitting Cadiz, he presented me with his Natural History of South America, a work highly deserving to be translated.

As usual, before I left the city, I inquired into the value of provisions, and found here, as in other cities, one contractor, who supplies the carcases at a stipulated price, making

making this contract for twelve months. These the magistrates sell to the butchers, taking a profit for the city, and fixing the retail prices to the consumer. To avoid unusual fractions of a penny, I shall give these in Spanish *quartos*, of which eight are equal to two pence farthing.

Beef sells for fifteen *quartos* the pound of sixteen ounces; veal for sixteen; mutton twenty-one; hog's lard twenty-four; bread seven. Wheat is forty-seven reals the fanega, or five and ten pence nearly for a Winchester bushel.

The pay of a labourer is six reals, or something more than fourteen pence a day; but artisans require double. Merchants reckon one hundred and eight *varas* to be equal to one hundred yards; but in reality four hundred and five *varas* make three hundred and seventy-one yards. The feet and inches bear the same proportion.

Five fanegas of corn are reckoned in trade to correspond with eight Winchester bushels, but the proportion is sixteen to twenty five.

Eight

Eight arrobas of wine make twenty-five gallons.

One hundred and four Spanish pounds are equal to one hundred and twelve English, at least in the rough calculations of a merchant.

Beef sells for fifteen pence the pound of sixteen ounces; veal for sixteen; mutton twenty-one; hog's lard twenty-four; bread forty-seven reals the fanega, or five and ten pence nearly for a Winchester bushel.

The pay of a labourer is six reals, or something more than fourteen pence a day; but artists require double. Merchants reckon one hundred and eight varas to be equal to one hundred yards; but in reality four hundred and five varas make three hundred and seventy-one yards. The feet and inches bear the same proportion.

Five fanegas of corn are reckoned in trade to correspond with eight Winchester bushels, but the proportion is sixteen to twenty five.

Eight

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